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World Reaction to 'Greek Armed Attack' Noted

AU1404165094 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Report by Arben Karapici]

[Text] [Announcer] The armed attack by the Greek military unit on the Albanian barracks in Peshkepi village have not only caused deep outrage in the country but also strong reactions from international organizations, high-level European officials, and the governments they represent. On the basis of these reactions, correspondent Arben Karapici prepared the following report:

[Karapici] The unprecedented act of official terrorism that Greece was finally able to exert against the national sovereignty of our country and the victims caused by the Hellenistic adventure of Sunday [10 April] do not seem to pass so easy in the international arena.

In a UN Security Council meeting on 12 April, President Colin Keating briefed the permanent council members on the letter from Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi. Reports from the UN Security Council Presidency state that none of the members had any objections, which has encouraged the observers to think that the Albanian protest will be the object of serious analysis. The meeting decided to follow the normal procedure, according to which the president gathers information from all sides, reports it to the council, and the latter decides on the president's report.

The representatives of the European Union troika, Germany and Belgium, energetically condemned the armed attack by the Greek military unit by fully supporting the protests by the Albanian Government and state to the international security organizations. The representatives of Germany and Belgium particularly warned of the danger that the event on the Albanian-Greek border presents, which, according to them, infringes not only upon Albania's stability but also that of the Balkans.

That is why Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock reacted toward the Hellenistic adventure with serious consequences for Albania and the Albanians. Mock harshly condemned the terrorist act by the Greek unit. The chief of Austrian diplomacy expressed Vienna's readiness to seriously consider the Greek armed attack.

On the other hand, the British Government pronounced that it strongly condemns all terrorist acts of this kind and other similar actions that, according to London, lead to the destabilization of the situation in the Balkans. The Major government commits itself to support all efforts by the Albanian Government's to continue to preserve stability and security in the Balkans. The British Government considers Albania's stance toward the Greek act of terror to be fair.

Meanwhile, the harsh protests of the Albanian Government and state were the subject of special consideration in the U.S. National Security Council and the Department of State in Washington. They informed our ambassador that the U.S. Government denounces this act, while Washington suggests dialogue between both sides so that the situation does not escalate any further.

Meanwhile, representatives of the French Foreign Ministry expressed their deep regret over Sunday's event and the victims. Paris considered as fully legitimate the Albanian Government's demand to the Greek Government that Athens find those responsible for the terrorist attack as soon as possible and convict them. The French Foreign Ministry considers the finding and conviction of the culprits as an important condition in normalizing Greek-Albanian relations.

Finally, it should be said that the official reactions of the chancelleries in Europe against the armed attack have been accompanied by comments and articles in the most powerful European newspapers. You will be acquainted with these comments in our future broadcasts.

Article Examines Issue of Greek 'Responsibility'

AU1504103194 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 14 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by Edi Paloka: "Is the Greek Government Responsible for the Crime in the South of Albania?"]

[Text] Albanian blood has been shed on Albanian soil by Greek terrorists who wore the uniform of the Greek Army and who vented their criminal venom in the Greek language.

Nothing can disgust an Albanian more than such a thing: A foreigner violating your home and murdering in the night. Crime disgusts everyone, especially a crime as ugly and macabre as that of recent days. However, the Greek Government has reacted to it in a peculiar way. In its first responses, it not only failed to express sympathy for the victims, which in human terms was the least it could do, but government spokesman Evangelos Venizelos spoke about an Albanian "provocation." This shows not only levity, but malice, especially at this time.

The progovernment Greek daily TA NEA did the same.

Meanwhile, a previously "unknown" group of Greek terrorists has shouldered responsibility for the crime. However, Venizelos seems not to be interested in this fact. In a way, the terrorist group's claim to the crime frees the Greek Government and Army of responsibility for organizing it. However, facts testify to a group wearing Greek Army uniforms, carrying the weapons of special units, and heading for a Greek border post. Anybody could telephone the editorial board of a newspaper (in this case ELEFTEROTHYPIA) and claim responsibility for this crime in order to let off the true culprits. However, let us suppose that this terrorist group exists and the government did not organize the incident. Is the Greek Government responsible for the crime?

Venizelos' reply was that the Greek Government bears no responsibility. It is easy to shirk responsibility in a couple of words, but...

Despite attempts toward understanding, Albanian-Greek relations have often undergone very fraught periods. Even today, although the democratic Albanian Government makes every effort to foster not only a calm but friendly atmosphere with Greece, no such predisposition is apparent from the other side, and serious incidents recur. One might ask what responsibility the Greek Government bears for a crime committed by a group of terrorists.

Does the Greek Government bear responsibility for public statements issued by its members, such as the former minister Sotiris Kouvelas? Is the Greek Government responsible when such a creature as Sebastianos, who God knows why is called a priest, has founded a radio station that does nothing but rant against Albania and openly spread warmongering propaganda to its neighbor?

Is the Greek Government responsible when it deceitfully talks of 400,000 members of the Greek minority in Albania and when it issues bogus protests about alleged violations of the rights of this minority, which lives better on Albanian soil than the Albanians themselves?

Are all these things not a direct incitement to such crimes, whether they are planned by "independent" terrorist groups or by organized Greek military forces?

It is inexcusable for the Greek Government to maintain such a position, in such a serious situation in the Balkans, when any incident could lead to a conflagration. The Greeks have already come out as allies of the Serbs, but a EU member-state cannot be allowed to behave with such a barbaric mentality.

Thousands of Albanians work in Greece today, but thousands of members of the Greek minority likewise work on Albanian soil. These members of the minority cannot be used as Trojan horses, because we are no longer in the era before Christ and the Albanians are not besieged Trojans. The members of the Greek minority came to Albania and worked the Albanian land they still work today; Albanian kindness must therefore not be rewarded with malice, as Greek political representatives have often done.

Under these conditions, the present Greek Government would do well to control its policies, in which it is lining up not only alongside the Slavic heathens of Belgrade but against the whole of Europe, and possibly setting off on a path fraught with consequences for Greece and the Greek people themselves.

Germany's Kinkel Arrives, Views Goals of Visit

AU1404195094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Report on an interview with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel by correspondent Bujar Muharremi in Tirana on 14 April—recorded]

[Text] Dr. Klaus Kinkel, foreign minister and deputy chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, arrived at 1300 GMT today for an official and friendly visit to our country. The chief of German diplomacy, who arrived in our country on board a special German Air Force plane, was received by his counterpart Alfred Serreqi and high-level Foreign Ministry officials.

Upon arriving at Rinas airport, Kinkel gave a short interview for Albanian television:

[Muharremi] Dr. Kinkel, can you tell us something about the goal of your visit to Albania?

[Kinkel, in German fading into Albanian translation] I have never been to your country; this is my first visit at the invitation of Mr. Serreqi. This is actually a return visit, following the visit that your foreign minister paid to Germany last year. I would consider my arrival here as an effort to assist your country and an indication of further friendly relations between our two countries.

[Muharremi] Will you discuss the crisis in former Yugoslavia and the present situation in the Balkans?

[Kinkel] Of course, it is understandable that we will discuss the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. This problem was discussed in the German parliament yesterday. We have also talked with the UN secretary general, who was on a visit to Germany. It is clear that upon arriving in Albania, we will discuss the situation in the region, since three-fourths of Albania's boundaries border the former Yugoslavia. We will also discuss the role that Albania plays in the framework of this crisis.

[Muharremi] What is Germany's foreign policy regarding the future of Kosova?

[Kinkel] We think the situation in Kosova, which is characterized by oppression, should end as soon as possible. We have also made it clear that a peaceful solution in Kosova is necessary. This is what we will focus on during our talks with high-level Albanian officials.

Berisha, Kinkel Comment on Talks

AU1404205194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Bilateral relations, the development of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, and the regional situation were the main topics discussed today between President Sali Berisha and German Foreign Minister Kinkel.

Albania and the Albanian people are very grateful and cherish the friendly feelings toward the German people, President Berisha said. These feelings emanated from the invaluable contribution by German scientists studying Albanian culture and the immense assistance that Germany has provided to the democratic processes in our country since the very beginning.

We are grateful to the German Government and Germany for supporting Albania's efforts to change from a dictatorship to a rule-of-law state and market economy. He said that excellent political relations exist between our two countries, and the economic cooperation with Germany is among one of the most effective.

Albania was the most isolated communist country, Mr. Kinkel said, and, as a consequence, democratization and promoting economic reforms has been most difficult. I can say that your efforts and achievements during the transition period are astonishing. We understand your difficulties fairly well because we Germans have encountered difficulties of such a phase twice—in 1945 after the dictatorship and in the last years in the eastern part of the country, where the transition rate has not been as speedy as yours.

The meeting extensively dealt with the further assistance that Germany can render by supplying water to cities, the energy field, an improvement in electricity, the traffic infrastructure, the solution to the problem of Albania's foreign debt, and the opening of a branch of the German bank.

Mr. Kinkel committed himself to intervene to the relevant German authorities and the European Union [EU] so that Albania be helped to complete these demands that he considers priority. He will try to see that his government encourages private investors as well. He said that Germany will support Albania's further integration into the EU, NATO, and the Council of Europe, and I will be your attorney to my European colleges.

President Berisha expressed his special gratitude for the invaluable assistance that Germany has given and is giving by allowing the refugees to stay. He informed the German minister that those refugees are supporting one or two families with what they are earning in Germany. Their deportation would constitute a problem for them and the country because they would be unemployed and homeless. President Berisha asked that a more tolerant stance be adopted toward them and that they be not deported.

Concerning the situation in the region, President Berisha said that the newly created Croat-Muslim federation is an important factor in achieving peace in the former Yugoslavia. In the same way, the solution to the Albanian question is also very important for a stable peace, in which the problem of Kosova is the main one. We think that the most efficient means for this is the bond of UN sanctions against Serbia by reaching an agreement between Belgrade and the legitimate Kosova leaders on the status of this province.

Concerning Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], the president expressed once again Albania's determination to help and cooperate with this republic. He said that Albania is deeply interested in the stability of Macedonia. However, he stressed that it is necessary that Macedonian authorities carry out the census and meet their commitments to guarantee the human rights and freedoms of the Albanians who live there.

President Berisha also expressed his regret over the current crisis with Greece—namely the criminal and premeditated act committed by a terrorist unit from Greece. He said that Albania is consistent in its policy of reducing the tension and preserving stability in the region. Since the first day, we proposed to cooperate with the Greek authorities to discover the culprits. Unfortunately, today we received an official response from the Greek side. We agree to establish a dialogue at a ministerial level to overcome the crisis and accept the creation of a joint commission to find and convict the culprits of this ugly crime.

President Berisha invited President Weizsaecker and Chancellor Kohl to visit Albania.

Meksi, Kinkel on Bilateral Cooperation

AU1504061694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] The economic, technical, and scientific cooperation, the achievements attained so far, and the concrete possibilities to strengthen them in the future were the main theme of the talks held today between Prime Minister Meksi and Klaus Kinkel, German deputy chancellor and foreign minister, in the presence of Ministers Xhaja, Halili, and Belortaja.

Relations with Germany occupy an important place in our entire policy, Meksi said at the beginning of his speech. This is based on the special economic assistance and the full political support that your country has rendered to Albania so far and in the good wishes and will of both sides further to strengthen our friendly relations.

Talking concretely about the present level of cooperation in the economic, political, technical, scientific, and cultural spheres, Meksi considered these to be successful and stressed that, nevertheless, there exist more favorable possibilities so that these relations be more intensively developed in other fields as well. Important positive factors are the good progress of the economic reform in Albania in its main indices and the completion of the fundamental legal framework to attract foreign investment. Overall production has increased and there is a decrease in the budget deficit and inflation. Stability can be noticed in the lek's exchange rate with foreign currencies. We can say that we have left behind the most difficult period. We have approved the main laws on

investment, business, and the banking and credit system, and the civil and penal codes are in the process of being approved.

Meksi further stressed that the completion of a series of bilateral agreements that are in the process of being drafted, such as the abolition of double taxation, tourism, road and maritime transportation, and scientific and cultural cooperation, will create a more facilitating legal framework to expand relations between our two countries.

Focusing on the problem of foreign investment, Prime Minister Meksi said that German capital is involved in Albania in special investment, such as that of Siemens for Rinas Airport, and in the form of joint ventures. However, he said, we expect German investment to grow considerably during 1994 and beyond and to include such fields as infrastructure and telecommunication, road constructions, such as the east-west road, aqueducts, energy, etc.

We greatly appreciate Germany's role both on the bilateral level and within the framework of the European Union [EU], in which Germany is the main contributor.

Mr. Meksi also dwelt on the problem of the foreign debt of our banks and discussed ways of settling it, as another guarantee for attracting foreign investment. He stressed that contacts with German partners have been strengthened and hoped that with the Paris Club Agreement, this problem will find the way to solution in the framework of the general debt.

For his part, Mr. Kinkel said that Germany understands quite well the difficult problems that you are encountering during the transitional period and that Germany is committed to help as before on the bilateral and the EU level. Albania is a country that has suffered the most in the past. That is why you fully deserve special assistance on our part, Kinkel stressed. Germany will fully support you in your goals for an the quickest possible political and economic approach to the EU, membership into the Council of Europe, the cooperation with BEP [expansion unknown], and the strengthening of the security of your country, both with the NATO integration and the bilateral level.

For this reason, we are ready to exchange high-level visits and sign a joint statement to display our very good relations and the goals of cooperation in the future.

In the economic level, our assistance will be increased and will be concentrated on the system of energy supplies, the construction of roads, economic development, etc. Though we have to face our problems with eastern Germany, our attention toward Albania will be increased. I also agree to abolish visas for diplomatic and business trips.

Further on, Kinkel appreciated the achievements in the sphere of the institutional and legal reform and expressed his pleasure that the judicial system is functioning well. He was ready for assistance in this direction as well.

To conclude, Meksi said that Albania is a small country and with a little investment, it can overcome this situation. We have understood that the main factor of development is within us, our work, which, with your assistance, can give rapid positive results.

They also discussed German assistance in education, culture, and science, the problem of Albanian refugees, and the situation in the region.

Serreqi Views Treatment of Albanian Minorities

AU1504131394 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 12 Apr 94 p 17

[Interview with Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi by unidentified STANDART NEWS reporter; place and date not given: "International Community's Sanctions Against Serbia Must Also Affect Kosovo, Krajina, and Sandzak...."]

[Text] [STANDART NEWS] What is Albania's policy regarding Albanian minorities in other countries?

[Serreqi] Albania issued several official announcements to the fact that it respects the borders of its neighbors and opposes any change in them by force. However, we are greatly concerned by the conditions under which the Albanian minorities in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and especially in Kosovo, live. We demand that their normal human and national rights are respected. They must have the democratic possibility to express their opinion.

[STANDART NEWS] If the conflict in Bosnia is resolved, will Serbian aggression in Kosovo follow?

[Serreqi] I think that the crisis in the former Yugoslav Federation has many aspects. The fighting in Bosnia is the gravest and most tragic aspect, but the conflict also has other dimensions. One of them is Kosovo. If the conflict spreads there, it will affect the entire Balkan peninsula.

This is precisely why we insist on the deployment of international observers in Kosovo. They would prevent the expansion of the conflict and facilitate the discussion about Kosovo's official status. We think that the first thing that must be done is to return to the Albanians in Kosovo the rights and autonomy that the Constitution of 1974 guaranteed them.

[STANDART NEWS] Do you want the restoration of that constitution?

[Serreqi] No. The Albanians in Kosovo must discuss the future of their region, but this is where the discussion must start. It is unacceptable to speak about another autonomy, which will not even guarantee the conditions provided by the older constitutions.

Thus, if the peace process progresses, then the sanctions and all measures of the international community vis-a-vis Serbia must be connected not only to Bosnia but also to the other crisis areas—Kosovo, Krajina, Vojvodina, Sandzak....

[STANDART NEWS] What could you say about the Serbian protest against your proposal? They think that Kosovo is their internal matter.

[Serreqi] Kosovo is not an internal Serbian problem, because it is not an integral part of their country. This is not even a regional, but rather an international issue. An Albanian Government cannot decide whether there should be an intervention or not. However, the Albanians will react on a national basis, because the people in Kosovo are a physical part of Albania.

[STANDART NEWS] Do you maintain any contacts with Rugova—the prime minister of the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo, recognized only by Albania?

[Serreqi] We maintain constant contacts. The Albanians in Kosovo demonstrated their civilized character by silently withstanding the terrible pressure and the violation of human rights. The tension reached a critical level about one year ago, when the Serbian expelled the CSCE observers from the region. Despite this Rugova and the other leaders continue to control the situation. However, we are concerned, because the people there feel abandoned.

[STANDART NEWS] Could you comment on the rumors that Albania supported a coup attempt on the part of the Macedonian Albanians, revealed four months ago by the government in Skopje?

[Serreqi] Albania was among the first countries which recognized Macedonia. We are convinced that this country's sovereignty is in the foundation of the region's stability. We are prepared to help Macedonia to endure more easily the consequences of the Greek sanctions.

However, it is obvious that our relations with Macedonia are connected with the situation of the Albanian minority there, which is about 35 percent of the population. I am sure that the Macedonian Government could and should do more for the Albanians' rights.

[STANDART NEWS] Could you nevertheless compare the rights of the Albanians in Macedonia and Kosovo?

[Serreqi] Of course, the situation is not identical. The Albanians in Kosovo are subjected to horrible repressions. Nevertheless, I think that the Albanians in Macedonia must acquire the status of "first class" citizens—as all the rest. Macedonia should be declared a multinational status. It is very suited for this. After all, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Albanians, Serbs, and Greeks live there.

Musaraj Accused of Cover-Up in Shkoder Shooting

AU1404124794 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 7 apr 94 p 2

[Letter addressed to the newspapers ALEANCA, KOHA JONE, RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, ZERI I POPULLIT, and DITA INFORMACION by Shyqyri Cela; date and place not given: "Public Order Minister Agron Musaraj and Shkoder National Intelligence Service Chief Fitim Meta Asked Me To Have My Brother Selami Cela Wounded To Excuse Gjovalin Cekini's Tragic Murder"]

[Text] I, Shyqyri Cela, former Democratic Party deputy elected in Mat District on 22 March 1992, and police chief in Shkoder immediately after the elections, an appointment that obliged me to hand in my mandate as deputy, feel obliged to address the press to condemn the low machinations of Public Order Minister Agron Musaraj, and Fitim Meta, National Intelligence Service [ShIK] chief in Shkoder, in covering up and excusing the murder of Gjovalin Cekini in Shkoder on 14 January.

Much has been said and written in the press and in public about this tragic murder that shocked the Cekini family. Unfortunately, according to what witnesses have written, my brother Selami Cela was involved in this tragedy.

I know that Selami was not at the Democratic alliance meeting on 14 January, nor in any group involved in breaking up this meeting. While the meeting was taking place in the Midjeni Theater, he was with his friends in a cafe in the Rus quarter. A policeman found him there, and asked Selami to take him in his car to the Migjeni Theater. Selami agreed; when his car reached the front of the theater, he saw the participants in the meeting emerging. From the published testimonies of relatives of the late Gjovalin Cekini, I have learned that Selami traded harsh words and insults with the people coming out of the theater. Somebody hit him in the jaw, and he began to turn back toward Radio Shkoder. He also drew his revolver but did not fire it, continuing to move backwards while facing Gjovalin Cekini, who was begging him not to shoot. It was at this moment that Gjovalin Cekini was shot down and killed. Everyone believes this sincere testimony of one of Gjovalin Cekini's relatives, who saw the events of 14 January with his own eyes. I too believe it, not simply out of relief that my brother was not the killer, but because it is the testimony of one of those most affected, who was at the scene of the crime. As for the relief, I want to say that my family and I remained distressed that one of us was involved for no reason at all in a quarrel that came to a tragic end. The fact that he was slightly drunk, as his friends have told me, is no excuse.

Many people know what I have just written, but what I am about to write is known only to one or two of my close friends. I want everybody to know, because everybody should know.

What happened after Gjovalin Cekini's murder? On 17 January, three days after the incident, Public Order Minister Agron Musaraj summoned me urgently to Tirana. I was somewhat surprised. I had been unemployed and without pay for about 18 months. This minister had not replied to my requests for a meeting, for a job, and for an explanation of why I had been left in the lurch. Nevertheless, I went to the ministry. In the presence of two or three other people, Mr. Musaraj very courteously lamented the fact that I had been left unemployed and immediately suggested that I should start work at once as a lecturer at the Police College. I was in great need of work, but the circumstances under which the suggestion was made floored me. All Shkoder and the entire press were mentioning my brother as implicated in the murder of an innocent lad from an ordinary, poor family. It was at such a time that I was being offered work in Tirana. Agron Musaraj blithely went on to make me another proposal, without imagining that he was offending or dishonoring me. In exchange for a lecturer's job, he told me to hand in my brother, implying that the matter of 14 January would be smoothed over. I did not know where my brother was, and had not even seen him. Only our mother had seen him just before he left home.

Minister Musaraj did not want a reply there and then in his office, but gave me three days to think about it. However, he did not wait three days. On the following day, 18 January, he arrived in Shkoder and asked me to go to the police station. This man who disgraces the office of minister, together with ShIK chief Fitim Meta, asked me for something that day that I would never have believed if I had not heard it with my own ears. They told me that my brother had been wounded, and had committed the murder in self-defense. My flesh crept. My mother had told me that Selami was not wounded, and in fact nobody had threatened his life opposite the Midjeni Theater. How could I agree to such disgraceful bargaining over the blood of an innocent, just-buried victim? Fitim Meta, thinking that I had failed to understand the trick, put it bluntly: "We will wound Selami, and then bring him to trial, where it will be demonstrated that he killed in self-defense. We will put him inside for a little while, then release him, and that will be an end of the matter."

This is not the language of human beings, but of criminals. They wanted us to take upon ourselves a blood-score. They wanted to conclude the murder of 14 January in such a disgraceful fashion. The two people who planned this were highlevel officials of this state and members of this government for which I too had voted as a Democratic Party deputy. The earth almost gave way beneath me. At that moment, it became clear to me that my brother was not the direct murderer. It was clear to me that Gjovalin Cekini's murder really did have a political hue. The public order minister and the ShIK chief were trying to cover up this murder in a criminal fashion, and they did not turn a hair at involving another person, even offering me a good job in Tirana.

I left these unscrupulous people. I did not and did not wish to see their faces again. I thought I was rid of them, but this was not entirely the case. They manage and govern with incomparable hypocrisy, and people who trust them do not know how wicked they are. I knew, and now had proof that was poisoning my life as long as I kept it to myself. I could not refrain from telling a few close friends, and thus word began to get around. Then these "angels" revealed their true faces, and used someone from Kukes to try to liquidate me in an attempted assassination.

However, I did not wish to vanish without telling the truth, which is very bitter not only for myself who experienced it, but for all Albanians who do not wish to see their country setting out on the path of crime and in the hands of such immoral and unprincipled people as Agron Musaraj. The truth will require me again, but I am no longer safe here and I cannot entrust my life to criminals invested with power. I am therefore leaving Albania with a broken heart, but with the hope that justice and genuine democracy will not be long in coming.

Assembly Debates FYROM Convoy Issue

BSP Considers Options

AU1404194894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] According to the BALKAN NEWS AGENCY the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] could demand the resignation of the cabinet if it allows the United Nations to use a corridor through Bulgarian territory.

During a break in the National Assembly session today, the BSP parliamentary group discussed this issue but did not reach a specific decision. There were equal numbers of votes for and against.

The parliamentary faction of the Union of Democratic Forces is postponing its decision on the same matter, because it is not clear whether the United Nations really requested a military corridor through Bulgarian territory.

Various Party Views Summarized

AU1504093994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Report on the National Assembly debate on the cabinet motion to allow the passage of UN military equipment convoy for the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Announcer] As we have already reported, at a midnight session last night the Council of Ministers prepared a draft resolution by means of which parliament is to permit the transit passage through Bulgarian territory of property and equipment for the preventative operations of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. At the moment the members of parliament are discussing the submitted draft resolution. Here is a report from Vladislav Stoychev in our studio at the National Assembly.

[Stoychev] During the debate the parliamentary groups expressed the following basic views on the issue. The NSD [New Alliance for Democracy], Independence Parliamentary Group, and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms unconditionally supported the government's proposal. The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] linked its support to criticism of the government for the manner in which it acted yesterday, circumventing parliament and becoming embroiled in a chaos of contradictions.

The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] motivated its negative stance with the following arguments. By citing the Constitution, the government acknowledged that the matter concerns foreign troops. According to the BSP, this runs counter to Bulgaria's decision of 19 April 1993 on nonintervention in conflicts in former Yugoslavia. The view of the BSP reminds parliament of Bulgaria's respect for the United Nations, the losses from the embargo, and the obligations of the United Nations and the UN Sanctions Committee toward Bulgaria. Incidentally, the issues of respect for the United Nations and the efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflicts figured prominently in the stated viewpoints of all the parliamentary groups.

Gincho Pavlov of the Fatherland Party of Labor declared that the UN request has no other meaning in practice than a desire to create a precedent for the subsequent passage of Turkish blue helmets through Bulgarian territory. The BSP position was sharply criticized in the last statement that was made a short time ago, by SDS leader Filip Dimitrov. The debate continues.

Assembly Agrees To Convoy Passage

AU1504102994

[Editorial Report] Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian from 0805 to 0949 GMT carried a live relay, interrupted by the midday newscast from 0900 to 0920, of a debate in the National Assembly in Sofia on a draft resolution submitted by the Council of Ministers to grant a request submitted by the United Nations for the one-time passage of a road convoy with UN property and equipment needed by the UN Protection Forces in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM, for preventative operations. The different parliamentary groups expressed varying stances on the issue.

At 0940 GMT National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, who chaired the debates, declared the debate closed and asked the deputies to take an open vote on the resolution. At 0946 GMT Yordanov announced the result of the ballot as follows: "A total of 215 National Assembly deputies took part in the ballot. Of these, 117 voted in favor of the resolution, 92 against, and six deputies abstained. Accordingly, the resolution is adopted and becomes a resolution of the National Assembly."

Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev then rose to express "warm gratitude to the National Assembly for officially supporting the proposal submitted by the government today on an exceptionally important problem." His statement was greeted with a mixture of applause and shouting.

Germany's Kinkel Arrives, Meets Officials

AU1504075694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Klaus Kinkel, vice chancellor and foreign minister of Germany, arrived in Bulgaria on an official visit last night.

After official talks at the Foreign Ministry this morning, Kinkel will pay a call on National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov and have meetings at the Council of Ministers. This afternoon he will be received by President Zhelyu Zhelev.

Upon his arrival, the German foreign minister particularly stressed that there are no problems in the relations between Bulgaria and Germany. Regarding the international topics to be discussed in his talks, he said that he would certainly be discussing the situation in former Yugoslavia and the Balkans as a whole. In addition, the situation in Russia would not be omitted in the talks. Kinkel supposed that other subjects would crop up in the course of the talks that would prevent them from becoming tedious. Perhaps one of the reasons is this:

[Begin Kinkel recording, in German fading into Bulgarian report] Bulgaria lies very close to my heart, Mr. Kinkel said. He added that he will try to help Bulgaria in solving its problems, both in terms of joining the EU and in connection with its contacts with NATO and its relations with the IMF. I am sure that Bulgaria can count on the German foreign minister, Kinkel declared on his arrival at Sofia Airport. [end recording]

Update on Berov's Health Condition

AU1404154094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] After a prolonged medical consultation, it was announced at a news conference at the Council of Ministers that in the last three to four days an acute illness developed in Professor Berov's liver. There are tendencies toward improvement in the clinical and laboratory indices.

The patient has slight hepatitis but with a tendency to heal within a brief period of time. There are two versions about the basic cause: Either a mechanical clogging of the gall bladder vessels, which occurred and passed rapidly, or a light form of an acute hepatitis virus. This was announced by gastroenterologist Professor Konstantin Chernev. A specific blood test of the patient will be carried out abroad. The result will be known within several days.

Highlights of Government Policy Statement

AU1404115294 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Apr 94 pp 8, 9

["Selection of the most important parts of the Slovak Government Policy Statement and paraphrasing of some other chapters," prepared by the NARODNA OBRODA editorial team: "Calming Down Emotions, Setting the Economy in Motion"]

[Text] **In an extensive introductory part of the Policy Statement, which will be discussed by the National Council of the Slovak Republic tomorrow, the government sums up the reasons that led the National Council to pass a vote of no-confidence in Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. These included, among others, the confrontational manner of political communication, lack of concept in economic policy, the politicizing of the economy, the delaying of transformation, and the deterioration of economic and social indicators. In the present, difficult situation, the government wants to seek optimal and pragmatic solutions to unpostponable problems. It intends to continue all the positive steps taken by the previous government. It regards as the most important tasks stabilizing the political, economic, social, and security situation, warding off the collapse in health care, education, culture, and the judiciary, and completing the drafting of conceptual documents and legislative norms. With regard to foreign relations, it wants to effectively defend the interests of Slovakia and tackle existing problems in a professional way.**

Risks of the Starting Position of the Economy

In 1993, the first year of the existence of the independent Slovak Republic, the development of the economy deteriorated once again, particularly in the first half of the year. This was caused by the previous government's lack of concept in preparing the independent existence of the Slovak economy, gross shortcomings in its economic policy, and the slowing down of the transformation process and privatization, in particular.

This found expression in another decline of real GDP by 4.1 percent, in a decline of industrial production by 13.5 percent, and in a drop of construction output by almost one-fourth.

The conditions of internal and external balance substantially deteriorated compared with 1992. The deficit of the state budget, which increased to 23 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] (6.8 percent of GDP), not only contributed to further price growth but, by siphoning off credit resources, also had an extremely adverse influence on the development of the entrepreneurial sphere. The increase in the budget deficit was accounted for, apart from the decline in GDP, also by shortcomings in preparing the introduction of the new system of taxation and insurance. In spite of the Sk's devaluation, exports declined sharply (11.5 percent compared with 1992), while imports grew at a relatively rapid pace (15.4 percent), which resulted in a Sk26.7 billion deficit in the foreign trade balance.

At the same time, the clearing account registering trade with the Czech Republic showed a deficit of Sk5.8 billion, which, while representing an extraordinary boost to budget revenues in 1993, aggravated, on the other hand, the starting position for budget management in 1994.

The starting position of the state budget for 1994 is also made worse by the unresolved liabilities of public sector branches—health care, transportation, education, and others—which were not included in the 1993 state budget deficit. These represent an additional burden of more than Sk6 billion for the 1994 budget.

As a result of deficit financing, which assumed unrestrained dimensions toward the end of 1993, the net debt indebtedness of the government sector rose to Sk60.0 billion. This substantially increased the debt servicing burden for the state budget in 1994 and the subsequent years.

The price level went up 23.2 percent in 1993, more than double the 1992 price growth.

The unfavorable development of the Slovak economy in the years 1992 and 1993 also found expression in growing unemployment and in the social situation of the population. By the end of 1993 the rate of unemployment increased to 14.4 percent.

The preceding government did not take resolute steps to stabilize the conditions for the development of the entrepreneurial sphere and in support of its development. This was reflected in another increase in the number of companies operating at a loss, the proportion of which reached 57.5 percent by the end of 1993, with their aggregate loss amounting to Sk42.5 billion. This further aggravated companies' inability to pay their bills and acted as a brake on monetary flows.

Our predecessors are accountable for the—by international standards—low inflow of foreign investments, primarily because they failed to ensure essential political and economic stability and because the government's low credibility deterred foreign investors. This is reflected in the fact that the overall volume of foreign investments reached only Sk10.8 billion by the end of 1993, which was Sk4.2 billion more than at the end of 1992, but, when Czech investors' capital is subtracted, the increase represented only Sk3 billion. The inflow of foreign capital had a declining tendency in the course of 1993.

Economic Intentions and Targets

In contrast to the preceding government's program, our program proceeds from the longer-term aims of the Slovak economy's development. **On this basis, during our term of office we want to lay the foundations for new dynamizing [dynamizujici] elements, regardless of the fact that their effects will make themselves felt only later.**

The government's unequivocal intention is to speed up the embarked-upon process of transforming the economy and ownership relations, in particular. We will set the process of privatization in motion again, with respect to which we will return to the tried-and-tested method of coupon privatization, which had in the past won citizens' trust. We regard successful transformation as the prerequisite for the development of a modern and efficient economy that will enable the Slovak Republic to join the league of economically advanced countries and to raise the living standards of the population. **We pledge to retain the social tolerability of transformation. We will conduct social dialogue to achieve generally acceptable solutions in the interest of maintaining social peace. We will devote particular attention to the socially weakest strata of the population.**

The government realizes that at the root of the development of society lie the initiative and responsibility of every individual and every economic and non-economic organization. The government's task is to act as the catalyst of this initiative.

Points of Departure of Macroeconomic Policy

The government considers macroeconomic stability to be one of the basic features determining the development of the Slovak Republic's economy. The attainment of this stability is conditional on the implementation of prudent budget, tax, wage, price, subsidies, and customs policies. **This means drawing as close as possible in 1994 to zero-growth of GDP, maintaining price growth in the range of 10 to 13 percent, keeping unemployment under the 17 percent limit, and meeting the commitment [not further specified, referring possibly to the commitment to keep budget deficit under 4 percent of GDP as recommended by the IMF]) in budget management.**

In budget policy, the government will focus on closing the unfavorable budget management for 1993 and the preceding years. It will have to **resolve the high deficit of the state budget for 1993 bequeathed to it by the previous government.**

To prevent the situation of 1993 from recurring, the government will focus in 1994 on securing revenues for the state budget. **It will implement measures to mobilize budget resources and, in strictly defined cases, reduce budget expenditures and will strive, in general, to bring about order in finances. It will adopt measures to prevent tax evasion, reduce outstanding tax arrears, unblock claims abroad, and address the issue of debts stemming from the pre-1993 period.**

We will establish conditions for a more extensive utilization of the financing of development targets from foreign resources. At the same time we want to make transparent the existing system of obtaining foreign credits and assessing their effectiveness. We will therefore tighten the criteria governing the assumption of liabilities vis-a-vis foreign partners. We consider it essential that every credit taken abroad should establish prerequisites for its repayment and strengthen the economic position of the Slovak Republic.

Macroeconomic Policy

The government will adjust macroeconomic policy with a view to attaining its macroeconomic targets. Without bringing about a fundamental turnabout in the company sphere, we will not only fail to achieve the set macroeconomic targets but the unfavorable tendencies will continue to intensify. The government's attention will center on speeding up the commercialization [komercionalizacia] and transformation of state enterprises in terms of ownership in order to finally resolve the **institutional vacuum, in which companies have found themselves in the last four years and to shorten the intolerably long pre-privatization agony of companies. With respect to commercialized state enterprises, the government will make use of the motivating function of managerial contracts and will limit its interference to rigid financial control.**

By its economic policy the government will establish prerequisites for eliminating the causes of the intolerable growth of company indebtedness and will take specific steps in the legislative sphere, and to secure the course of court proceedings in commercial matters and bankruptcy proceedings, which will help speed up the financial restructuring of companies. It will speed up negotiations on obtaining a loan for restructuring the company and banking sphere (EFSAL) [expanison unknown].

We will orient our efforts also toward improving the competitive environment and finalizing the system, and intensifying the activity, of institutions charged with promoting the development of businesses, such as the National Agency for the Support and Development of Small and Medium-Sized Businesses, consultancy centers, Slovenska Zarucna Banka [Slovak Guarantee Bank], and the like. In this process we will cooperate with entrepreneurs's associations and with the Slovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

We regard a strong private sector, operating on the basis of market principles and private ownership, as the source of Slovak economic prosperity. Therefore, we want to expeditiously eliminate obstacles and restrictions to the development of the private sector in the legislative and administrative spheres and help tackle the financial prerequisites for the further development of private entrepreneurial activities.

We will support private activities even in those sectors of public services that have until now been the exclusive domain of the state.

Foreign investment, which should help eliminate the acute shortage of capital, will represent one of the dynamizing elements of the economy. We want to create a stable and favorable entrepreneurial environment that will be attractive also for foreign investors and take specific steps to facilitate their becoming involved in the economy of the Slovak Republic. We will establish conditions to substantially improve and increase the

flow of information to foreign investors and will give support to those, whose entry will accelerate the development of the economy.

Privatization

One of the most serious causes of the intensification of negative tendencies in the development of the economy was the slowing down, and virtual halting, of privatization. Lack of concept compounded by lack of transparency and exceptionally hasty privatization in the closing days of the previous government's term of office have brought about loss of confidence [in privatization] among citizens. We consider it our priority to restore the confidence of citizens and foreign investors alike in the process of privatization in Slovakia. In this spirit we are taking measures to speed up the privatization process in such a way that, by the time the second wave of coupon privatization is concluded, more than one-half of all property in state ownership should get into private hands. At the same time we will establish conditions for effective control of privatization by the public.

The government will secure the equality of privatization methods and the equality of participants in privatization. It will consistently attend to making privatization transparent and will prevent political deformations of this process. In contrast to the preceding government, which considered coupon privatization a residual method and was deferring its preparation, this government will approach it as an **equal** method and, within the framework of its mandate, will also secure the commencement of the **second wave of coupon privatization.**

We will speed up the realization of already prepared and undisputed privatization projects by means of standard methods. We will offer certain enterprises, or their parts, to domestic and foreign interested parties who will demonstrate their credibility and will submit the most interesting projects, interesting not only in financial terms but also from the viewpoint of entrepreneurial plans.

Sectoral Policy

Industry, Construction, Trade, and Tourism

The government's priority in industry will be, above all, raising the ability of Slovak products to compete. We consider support for the restructuring and revitalization of industrial companies to be the foundation of sectoral policy. **We will speed up the privatization of arms companies, which was kept being delayed thus far, while at the same time securing the state's adequate participation so as to be able to preserve the strategic interests of defense and security.**

In the sphere of **energy**, the government will draw up a proposal for the organization, restructuring, and gradual privatization of enterprises that are now in state ownership, providing for well-considered participation by foreign capital. Based on foreign experience, the government will proceed particularly circumspectly in the process of transforming and privatizing the energy sector in order to preserve the state's energy sufficiency. It will prepare regulatory measures to prevent unwarranted price increases in this sector.

Our main target in the construction industry, apart from giving support to small entrepreneurs, will be to establish conditions for the utilization of our large-scale capacities to build transport infrastructure and complete unfinished apartments and energy projects. We will take the necessary steps to make possible the export of construction capacities. We will speed up negotiations on the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant.

The preceding government did not make use of the dynamizing potentials of **tourism** for the development of the Slovak economy. In contrast to the preceding government, we will focus on the development of tourism with a view of increasing its share in the generation of new jobs, revitalizing individual regions, and increasing foreign exchange earnings.

We will speed up the privatization of companies engaged in tourism, will prepare the institutional framework for tourism promotion and a law on tourism, will intensify the promotion of Slovakia, and the like.

Transport, Communications, and Public Works

In the sector of transport and communications, we will replace by pragmatic solutions the previous practice of unsuitable interventions and statements, which brought about stagnation in those areas and met with unfavorable response abroad.

The government will draw up and submit to parliament for discussion, still during its term of office, a draft amendment to the Law on Railroads, a Bill on the Health Insurance of Railroad Employees and the Railroad Employees' Health Insurance Company, a Bill on Road Transportation, as well as a Bill on Telecommunications.

It will follow up on all legislative and preparatory work and all studies and blueprints aimed at the development of infrastructure in transportation, postal services and communications, and the institution of public works and will secure a more distinct progress of all those projects.

The need to take care of the citizens' housing situation was not fully appreciated in the preceding period. We will draw up, and will begin to implement, our own concept of housing policy, including the completion of unfinished apartments and infrastructure and amenities. We will initiate and speed up the launching of privatization of the housing stock and an increase of investments in the housing economy. We will clarify the legal framework regarding expropriation for projects in public interest.

Agriculture

In agriculture, the government will orient its activities toward meeting the basic strategic targets adopted by the National Council of the Slovak Republic. **We consider**

agriculture to be one of our priorities. Establishing prerequisites for stabilizing agriculture, halting a further production decline, securing continuity of agricultural production, and ensuring conditions for its qualitative growth remain the primary tasks. **We want to clarify the arrangement of property relations and claims in agricultural cooperatives, speed up the transformation of proprietary relations with regard to soil,** particularly the privatization of state farms, and establish conditions for agricultural enterprises' faster adaptation to the new conditions.

Following up on the transformation of proprietary relations, we are planning a new organizational arrangement of the forest economy. The implementation of the program of **remedial measures in forests damaged by pollutants** will continue by drawing on domestic as well as foreign financial resources.

Development of the Financial Sector

The government is interested in the formation of a competitive commercial banking sector. In the endeavor to contribute to this process, we will support measures designed to continue the privatization of banks, improve the banks' portfolio, and reinforce the banks' capital stock, including reinforcement from outside capital resources. One of the aims of this support is to significantly raise the level of Slovak banks' international acceptance and to integrate them into the international banking system as fully fledged members.

We will also devote attention to the expansion of **insurance services mitigating entrepreneurial risks, particularly to insuring export credits. We will also give consideration to a system of insuring citizens' bank deposits** and to the formation of credit cooperatives.

Foreign Economic Policy

Some areas of foreign economic policy remained unresolved in the preceding period. **Essential measures designed to protect the market in the transitional period, as well as exceptionally needed export-promoting measures, kept being delayed,** which caused a further intensification of external disequilibrium and economic decline.

We will therefore strive, above all, to give finishing touches to export-promoting policy and to implement it across-the-board in order support the export potentials of Slovak companies. In justified cases we will also secure an adequate protection of the internal market.

Ecology and Economic Policy

In this chapter the government expresses its intentions to separate the protection of natural resources from their utilization, to distribute resources from the State Environmental Fund not only from the viewpoint of the priorities of individual districts but Slovakia as a whole, to consolidate the Slovak Environmental Agency, and to complete legislation related to the environment.

Social Sphere

The rate of unemployment reached almost 14.8 percent in February 1994, which represents almost 380,000 unemployed registered with labor offices. In February 1994 the rate of unemployment exceeded 20 percent in 14 districts, with the district of Rimavska Sobota reporting a rate of unemployment of 26.7 percent. The growth of long-term unemployment (the average period of registration represented 229 days at the end of 1993), as well as the fact that, by the end of 1993, the category of young people under 25 represented almost one-third of all unemployed, must be regarded as a particularly negative phenomenon.

Apart from the growth of unemployment, the deterioration of the social situation and the living conditions of the population in 1993 was also caused by another increase in the cost of living, which went up 22.8 percent compared with the preceding year, and by a 2.6 percent decline of real earnings. Single-parent families, families with several children, and pensioners are the worst off. The proportion of households with children whose income in 1993 was lower than 1.5 times the subsistence minimum reached 61.9 percent, with 15.2 percent of households with children finding themselves below the subsistence level. The unfavorable social situation of citizens was tackled by means of the provision of welfare payments. A total of 239,000 recipients of these payments were registered in 1993, more than 140,000 of whom were long-term unemployed. Welfare payments were collected by 8.6 percent of households with dependent children.

From the viewpoint of the situation in the sphere of employment, the government will reassess, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the labor market, the instruments of active employment policy, while respecting the demand that financial resources be spent rationally and effectively and while respecting the situation on regional labor markets. It will place particular emphasis on **active employment policy,** on reassessing the provision of material benefits also from the viewpoint of the gradual transfer of this care to the insurance system, as well as on **expanding the possibilities for our citizens to assert themselves in the work process,** and protecting the labor market, by means of **bilateral contracts with other states.**

The transformation of the existing systems of pension schemes, health insurance, state social payments, and welfare payments into systems of social insurance, state social support, and social assistance remains the government's basic conceptual intention in the sphere of social security.

From the viewpoint of topical tasks in the sphere of social security, we consider it necessary:

—to tackle the issue of child allowances as the key form of state transfer payments for families with children,

—to analyze the functionality of the National Insurance Company,

—to create legislative foundations for a system of supplementary pension insurance,

—to continue to gradually create conditions for humanizing the care of physically and mentally severely disabled persons and elderly citizens, with particular emphasis on the actual guarantee of their rights,

—and to gradually establish conditions for the activity of non- state entities in the social sphere.

Health Care

The present unfavorable situation in health care results from the disrupted continuity of the 1992 health care reform and from the introduction of some incorrect systemic steps, compounded by a drastic cut in financial resources.

As of 31 December 1993 health care establishments reported unpaid bills of Sk1.8 billion, of which bills for medical drugs account for Sk1.2 billion. The remainder is made up of bills for energy, fuel, and food supplies and reconstruction and modernization projects.

Health care has found itself in a critical financial situation, as a consequence of which one can also speak about a high level of hidden indebtedness (which is estimated at Sk50 billion).

In 1992, 17.1 billion Czechoslovak korunas were spent on the operation of health care facilities, in 1993 Sk16.2 billion, and, disregarding inflation and the introduction of systemic measures, the use of only Sk14.2 billion was projected for 1994.

The government's main aim in the sphere of health care will be to deal with the financial crisis, which directly threatens the provision of health care and slows down the transformation process. The following measures are inevitable to ward off an imminent collapse:

—to quantify and specify the justified demands of health care on the state budget for 1993 and determine the method of settling the liabilities of health care facilities,

—to find ways of alleviating the budget deficit in health care for 1994,

—to carry out changes in the existing system of payments for health services.

In the sphere of financing health care and health insurance, the government will strive to establish conditions to financially secure the provision of basic health care, support the development of the Health Insurance Fund, and secure its independent operation.

The system of assessing the value of health services introduced as of 1 October 1993 will have to be replaced by a new solution that will be more effective, simpler, less demanding administratively, and less costly. The new system will have to be prepared in a differentiated way, separately for individual types of health care providers.

We will continue to privatize health care facilities, using publicly controllable criteria. In the course of April we will ensure the drafting and publication of conditions for the privatization of pharmacies and health spas. Changes in ownership must not jeopardize the therapeutic functions of natural springs spas. **A majority participation by the state in the privatization of key spa facilities is foreseen.** By the end of June 1994 we will prepare documents for the privatization of primary health care establishments.

In connection with the implementation of essential changes to the existing system of payments for health services, the government will establish conditions for a solution to the wage conditions of health care employees.

School System, Education, and Science

High educational and cultural standards of the population represent the basic source of a state's wealth. Advanced countries pursue the strategy of growth of investments into the sphere of education and science. In defiance of this worldwide trend, both the conceptual and the everyday issues concerning the development of education, science, and research have been neglected in our country of late.

The budget of the department of education and science has been cut by Sk2.795 billion over the last two years. The already low budget for 1994 is further reduced by a debt of Sk298 million stemming from the year 1993. **The situation is so grave that, if education retained all its functions at the level of 1993, the budget resources allocated for education and science would be exhausted in the 9th month of 1994, even if the price level remained constant.** The situation is compounded by the fact that no legal norms have been drawn up and introduced into practice that would make it possible to introduce progressive forms of management into schools and educational establishments.

As a result of the grim situation in the sphere of education and science, which is documented, for example, by the breakup of kindergartens, school catering, and school accommodation, the government will pay particular heed to ensuring a calm completion of the 1993/94 school year and preparation of the new 1994/95 school year.

For this reason **we consider it unavoidable to write off the 1993 debts of schools and educational establishments, to adequately amend the state budget for education and science for 1994, and to reassess the existing structure of revenues and expenditures in the department of education.** We will explore additional sources of revenue at home and abroad.

The government regards as one of the decisive tasks the formulation of the republic's strategic interests in the

sphere of education and training and the commencement of work on drafting the **National Program of Education and Training.**

The government will ensure the drafting of the **Concept of Developing University Education in the Slovak Republic Until the Year 2010** and the transformation of the existing system into a system that will flexibly react to the needs of the labor market and will be compatible with the system of education in the countries of the European Union. Based on experience from the implementation of the law on higher educational establishments, the government will establish prerequisite for the drafting of a new law or for amending the existing law.

We want to consistently support the development of science and technology in the directions designated as priorities as an important prerequisite of economic, social, and cultural growth under the conditions of an unfolding market economy. **We will submit to the National Council of the Slovak Republic for adoption a law on state support for science and technology.** We will propose the establishment of the Slovak Republic State Fund for Science and Technology as well as an independent Slovak Republic Grant Agency for Science and Technology, which should help preserve and develop the intellectual base of the state and prevent academics and researchers from leaving universities and research institutes. The government will also ensure a regular and consistent process of mutual recognition [akreditacia] of universities and the research and development base.

Based on a realistic assessment of the present situation in, and standard of, physical education and sports, we want to establish the necessary institutional, legislative, and economic conditions for the development of physical education and sports, with emphasis on financing them from central sources through the medium of the State Physical Education Fund. **By giving support to top-performance sports, we will contribute to the successful representation of the Slovak Republic in sports.**

For the needs of public administration and division of powers between state administration and self-administrative bodies, the government will draft an optimal variant of management and administration of primary and secondary schools, providing for the gradual transfer of some of the powers of central bodies of state administration to local state administration and self-administrative bodies.

Culture

The government will draft a basic **concept of long-term strategy for developing culture under the conditions of the transformation of the economic and social system.** It will also prepare a basic model of the organizational arrangement and financing of culture, a model that will ensure functional ties in the emerging market environment.

The government's basic aim is to establish legislative prerequisites for the transition from the central financing of culture toward providing incentives, and introducing preferences, for investments in this sphere. At the same time, it is necessary to retain the possibility of supporting directly, by means of the state-run PRO SLOVAKIA [capitalization as published] fund, those areas of culture, in which the market instruments do not assert themselves. We will support the drafting of an analysis of the functioning of this fund, with emphasis on the attainment of the expected targets and its position. [sentence as published]

We will continue our efforts to finalize the legislative, political, and social scope for the functioning of media at the level of the European standard. The law on the mass media, now in preparation, and the law on economic support for the periodical press will lay the groundwork for this.

Complicated problems arise from the failure to approve the license for the second channel of Slovak Television. This issue will have to be resolved as soon as possible.

Ethnic Policy

We would like to achieve social consensus that will guarantee the stability and peaceful coexistence of all citizens of the Slovak Republic, regardless of nationality and the color of their skin. A prerequisite for this necessary consensus is the mutuality of rights and duties, combined with the civic principle. The government is prepared to provide all necessary guarantees of rights to persons belonging to ethnic minorities. On the other hand, it expects the fulfillment of constitutional civic duties, which is an important prerequisite for ruling out instances of ultra-nationalism, irredentism, and separatism.

Instead of confrontation, we will introduce the mechanism of permanent dialogue as a method that promotes cooperation and seeks consensus in generating and exercising rights of citizens belonging to ethnic minorities.

State, Democracy, Law, and Public Order

In this extensive chapter the government pledges to continue to devolve powers to the community self-administration bodies. It will explore the possibilities of introducing the institution of the ombudsman. It will strive to eliminate shortcomings in state administration resulting from procrastination, incompetence, and the like. It will continue to implement the concept of stabilizing the judiciary and the long-term program of combating crime, particularly organized crime and the legalization of income originating from organized crime.

Aims and Tasks in Legislation

In this chapter the government undertakes to speed up the adoption of legislative norms compatible with laws of the European Union. It is determined to pass in the National Council of the Slovak Republic a law on the conflict of interests in the performance of duties, pertaining to constitutional officials and higher-level state administration officials. It will prepare a law on the

obligation to prove the origin of financial resources used in privatization. The government wants to improve the legislative conditions for the functioning of the entrepreneurial and non-profit spheres.

Security and Defense of the State

In this chapter the government undertakes to finalize conceptual documents pertaining to the Slovak Republic's security and defense policy and to submit to the National Council of the Slovak Republic a document specifying cooperation with NATO. It wants to get ahead with the transformation of the army and make a more efficient use of resources.

Foreign Policy

The basic principles of foreign policy, approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic when the Slovak Republic was founded, do not change with a change in government. The present government wants to build on the results achieved heretofore, even though it has its own ideas about non-confrontational methods and about creating a more positive image of Slovakia abroad.

[NARODNA OBRODA editorial note] The editorial team is responsible for the selection of the most important parts of the Slovak Government Policy Statement and the paraphrasing of some other chapters.

Minister Cited on Privatization Timetable

AU1404134094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 8 Apr 94 pp 1, 2

["asa"-signed report: "Coupon Book Should Cost No More Than 1,000 Korunas"]

[Text] Bratislava— A group of experts appointed by the state secretary at the Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property [MSPNM] is working on a document on the preparation of coupon privatization, which it will submit to the government, probably on 19 April. The document will contain the timetable of coupon privatization and of concomitant steps. This was stated by Privatization Minister Milan Janicina at a news conference yesterday.

According to the minister, all efforts are aimed at having the registration for coupon privatization start by the end of August. G. Porvaznik, head of an MSPNM department, said that large enterprises, in particular, are to be included in coupon privatization, with the majority stake in these companies to be privatized by this method. Altogether, the MSPNM is preparing some 200 businesses with shares worth about 80 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] for privatization by the coupon method. Added to them will be some Sk20 billion worth of shares in companies that have been founded by the National Property Fund. The problem of privatizing—including in coupon privatization—some companies, in which the strategic participation by the state is foreseen, has not yet been resolved. This concerns, in particular, power and gas generating and distribution companies, arms factories, and chemical plants. An agreement with the founder will determine to which extent these companies will be privatized. Similarly, the inclusion of Slovak spas and of Benzinol [chain of gas stations] in coupon privatization will also depend on an agreement with the founding ministries. As for the price of the coupon book, it should not cost more than Sk1,000, according to Milan Janicina, and a lower price is even being considered.

Milan Janicina agrees that although coupon privatization is the socially most equitable privatization method, it does not bring any capital. He added, however, that, besides coupon privatization, the use of standard privatization methods will continue; these can secure the inflow of capital. The minister's adviser Igor Uhrik said in this context that the greatest advantage of coupon privatization is that it eliminates the blocking of credit resources. Besides, coupon privatization helps establish the capital market, he added.

Minister Milan Janicina provided information on activities by Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] deputies to the National Council of the Slovak Republic and other state administration officials in lobbying for specific privatization projects. According to his words, this activity was "reminiscent of methods used under real socialism when you needed the support of some party organization, at the local or district level, for some project to come through." He said that it was interesting that, in all cases, the deputies were lobbying for the project that turned out to be the "victorious" one. Asked about the further course of action in reexamining projects approved by Vladimir Meciar's government, Minister Janicina said that the situation is complicated by the fact that people are afraid of speaking or testifying in individual cases. He said that, in the case of the privatization of the Piestany spa, he had the opportunity to see an agreement on the quiet partnership of two government representatives and one deputy. The minister supposedly avails himself of indications that, in three privatization cases, the HZDS election campaign was to be financed from the approved projects. Evidence for this assertion is lacking, however.

Horn, Romania's Gherman on Ties, Minorities

AU1404204994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] A meeting has taken place in Szeged, Hungary, between Mr. Oliviu Gherman, president of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], and Mr. Gyula Horn, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. The meeting was also attended for Romania by Mr. Dan Martian, parliamentary deputy and PDSR vice president, Grigore Zanc, prefect of Cluj County, and Dumitru Paslaru, deputy. Here is a dispatch from Budapest by our correspondent Dorin Suciu.

[Begin Suciu recording] The meeting that the two party presidents held this morning was an opportunity for a first contact between them. The sides examined aspects of Hungarian-Romanian relations and the PDSR-MSZP relations. In the afternoon, the talks focused on the integration of the two countries into the European Union and NATO.

During a news conference after the talks, MSZP President Gyula Horn said: There is a need for a historic reconciliation between Hungary and its neighbors. In concrete terms, this means that we should push aside the so-called prejudices or historical injustices, or at least remove them from the sphere of politics. Otherwise, they will continue to be a source of tension. Let us leave it up to the scientists and historians to elucidate the white or dark spots in our common history.

In the MSZP's opinion, it is possible to reach a common denominator on the issue of the basic treaty between the two countries, Gyula Horn said. An essential aspect of this treaty is Point No. 4, that is recognition of the integrity of borders and, closely related to that aspect, the full ensurance of the rights of the minorities living on the territory of the two countries. One would like to see a law on minorities being passed in Romania and Hungarian-language education based on legal grounds. The MSZP president expressed serious reservations on these two issues. According to Horn, the Hungarian minorities both in Romania and Slovakia should enjoy internal self-determination. I do not want to be misunderstood, the MSZP president emphasized. I am referring to an administrative autonomy in the regions inhabited by compact masses of Hungarians. We have reservations about the way in which the new Romanian Constitution safeguards the rights of the minorities. Of course, this is an internal matter, but we would positively receive a possible modification along these lines, Mr. Horn added.

The socialist leader also emphasized the need to enhance economic and trade relations and advocated closer links and more contacts between the parliamentary deputies and politicians of the two countries. I found in the PDSR a constructive partner and I am convinced that future talks at expert level and a subsequent meeting at a higher level would lead to a mutual understanding, Mr Gyula Horn said in conclusion.

As far as PDSR President Mr. Oliviu Gherman is concerned, he said that the following: From the list of problems raised by President Gyula Horn, one might come to the erroneous conclusion that there is a huge number of unsolved problems between the two countries and that we are only at the beginning of the road. Then, Mr. Oliviu Gherman continued:

[Gherman] In reality, many problems have been resolved and I express the conviction that, with the signing of the fundamental treaty of cooperation between the two countries, we will create conditions for solving the key problems remaining between our two states. I would like to point out that the party I am representing sets out from the premise that real relations of friendship and cooperation should be established between the two countries. Unfortunately, the absence of a fundamental treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries has generated a sentiment of suspicion, at least in Romania.

The resolution of the problem of the minorities in Romania is fully covered by the constitutional stipulation which confirms the prevalence of the provisions of the international laws on human rights endorsed by the organizations to which Romania belongs over the internal laws. This means—if not explicitly, at least implicitly—that we are fully aligning ourselves to international standards in the matter.

I would like to stress that the MSZP statement gave us the feeling that we must start these initiatives to accelerate the normalization of the relations between the two countries and even raise them to a higher level. We express the hope that—after the commissions of experts Mr. President Horn referred to are going to start putting together a list of problems and various ways and means for their resolution—we will reach a situation wherein the two parties will develop relations of preferential cooperation links.

[Suciu] At the end of the news conference, MSZP President Gyula Horn was asked the following question by a journalist: If you become head of government, will you also say, as your predecessors Joszef Antall and Peter Boross, that you consider yourself spiritually the prime minister of 15 million Hungarians? The socialist leader gave the following answer: I would not like to make forecasts in connection with the post of premier. However, if this were to happen, I would refrain from such statements, which are bound to irritate our neighbors. In my opinion, the future government should establish the best possible relations with our neighbors. On the other hand, it should do everything that it can to ensure the rights of the Hungarian minorities living beyond the borders. [end recording]

Ethnic Hungarian on Slovak Government

94P20597

[Editorial Report] A leading parliamentary representative of Egyutteles [Coexistence], the main political organization of Slovakia's Hungarian minority—which numbers 600,000 in a population of 5 million—said in a recent interview that he believes the minority's political position is now considerably stronger than it was under the recently ousted government of Vladimir Meciar, despite the absence of Hungarians in Slovakia's new government.

In an interview published on 18 March in the Hungarian-language Bratislava daily UJ SZO, Istvan Harna, who represented Egyutteles at the negotiations on the formation of the cabinet, told an unidentified interviewer that the new government will be forced to take into account the views of the Hungarians because the Hungarians "now hold the balance in parliament." Without their vote, Harna said, the parliament "cannot pass any laws," and if the coalition parties fail to "keep their promises" to the Hungarian minority, its representatives can "hold back" their votes "at any time." As he sees it, the Hungarians are in a more advantageous position than if they were in the government, because "if we had even one minister, we would share governmental responsibility, and we would have to support the cabinet even if it did not satisfy our demands."

At the same time, Harna expressed disappointment that the anti-Meciar coalition had not been more willing to accommodate the Hungarians. He dismissed as a political ploy the fact that at one point during the negotiations the anti-Meciar groups had offered him the post of finance minister, saying they had done so "only because they were forced to" when all the other parties refused "to accept the responsibility" for the ministry that is the "most trouble." No serious attempt was made to include the Hungarians in the government, Harna said, because the anti-Meciar Slovaks contended that "Meciar would, with his demagogic populist statements, use the Hungarians' participation to incite public opinion against the new government." While saying that there was "some truth" in such contentions, Harna declared that it still was "not principled" to leave the Hungarians out of the government, because if their vote is needed, then "the rules of democracy" dictate that they should be included.

Nevertheless, Harna indicated that the Hungarians will be able to take advantage of the new political situation to get some significant concessions. Taking into account the "public mood and Slovakia's interests," he said, they agreed to support the government even if they could not join it, but in return they made eight demands. Evidently referring to Hungarian demands for more local government power—which Slovaks have criticized as an attempt to loosen Slovakia's hold on Hungarian-inhabited areas—Harna said that at first the anti-Meciar coalition called the demands "irredentist," but later the coalition "realized that they are not, and accepted them." Moreover, the Hungarians will apparently be given an increased role in education, which they consider a key area. According to Harna, the new government will establish a "separate Hungarian division" in the Education Ministry, and its leading officials will be chosen on the basis of the Hungarians' recommendations. While the Hungarians will not get any state secretary positions, Harna said, the government has agreed to "take into account" the Hungarians' opinion when appointing "leading officials" in any ministry that has a particular impact on the Hungarian minority.

Balsai Rejects Idea of 'Fear' in Campaign

94CH0225B Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 26-27 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by Szilvia Zimber: "Unfounded Scare Tactics"]

[Text] "As the minister vested with powers to authorize the use of secret service devices and as a member of the cabinet, I categorically label as unfounded any statements that generate an atmosphere of fear or hint that certain political parties or their headquarters are under surveillance and their telephones are being tapped," declared Justice Minister Istvan Balsai yesterday in Dombovar at a news conference that preceded a local political rally.

Yesterday afternoon the justice minister dedicated the renovated building of the Dombovar Municipal Court, which has been functioning for 80 years. Istvan Balsai rated as spectacular the achievements of the government's four years in office, the judiciary's elevation to a position worthy of a rule-of-law state, the increase in judges' salaries, and the improvement of their working conditions. "I am confident that we will be able to continue this trend in the future. After all, there is much left to be done in the coming period as well," the minister said. Incidentally, the development of the security system absorbed nearly half of the Dombovar Municipal Court building's renovation cost.

In the evening Istvan Balsai, member of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] executive committee, and attorney Dr. Marianna Monostori, MDF candidate for Parliament in Tolna County's fourth electoral district, attended a local political rally.

According to Istvan Balsai, the statements made by prominent politicians of more than one political party following the start of the election campaign were without foundation. They claimed that the handing in of nomination forms and the elections themselves were shrouded in an atmosphere of fear. He categorically denied the accusations made by the president of the Hungarian Socialist Party that the vicinity of his party's headquarters was under surveillance and the party's telephones were being tapped. The purpose of this completely unfounded accusation might be to confuse the citizens and to question the country's democratic functioning. Istvan Balsai rejected also the political statements that questioned freedom of the press, citing the situation of Hungarian Radio's public employees.

Liberal Parties in Weakened Position

94P20629A

[Editorial Report] Tensions between Hungary's two main liberal parliamentary parties, the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) and the Federation of Young Democrats (Fidesz), have greatly reduced the liberals' chances in the 8 May elections, according to two articles in the 31 March issue of the Budapest weekly BESZELO. The journal, although edited by Ferenc Koszeg and other prominent SZDSZ politicians, treated the two parties even-handedly and urged both of them to resolve their differences before it is too late. In the first article, political commentator Peter Kende said that the conflict between the two parties discourages voters from seeing the liberals as a viable alternative either to the present right-of-center government—led by the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF)—or to the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), whose popularity has been growing "like an avalanche." Although "in principle" Hungarian popular opinion favors the "liberal center," liberal infighting has created a political climate in which most voters think that their only real choice is between the left and the right, Kende said.

The SZDSZ and Fidesz are going into the campaign with an agreement not to attack each other, but in Kende's view this is "not enough to give their campaign momentum." Voters have gotten the impression that "the two main forces in the liberal camp are in a cold-blooded competition with each other and are in fact pulling in two different directions." Kende indicated that this perception is essentially valid. Because it considers the right "the greatest evil," the SZDSZ formed a "united front" with significant "intellectual" elements of the leftist MSZP when it became alarmed by the emergence of an extreme right faction from the ranks of the government parties in 1992; Fidesz, in contrast, "true to its pragmatic profile," did not want to "overdramatize the right-wing danger" and considered it a "mistake" to put too much stock in the purported democratic transformation of the MSZP, the successor of the previously ruling communist party. In fact, in Fidesz's view, Kende said, by agreeing to a rapprochement with the MSZP, the SZDSZ fell into a "trap" set by right-wing extremist Istvan Csurka.

In any case, according to Kende, the break between the two liberal parties has put both their futures in jeopardy. "The two most probable outcomes of the May elections could both be fatal to the liberals. If the left wins, the SZDSZ will be forced to play second fiddle in a government dominated by the MSZP, while if the right wins, Fidesz will have to play second fiddle in a government dominated by the MDF—unless they choose the thankless task of forcing new elections by completely refusing to participate" in the government.

The two liberal parties "can only reverse" these downward developments if they "radically" change their approach in the weeks remaining before the elections, Kende said. They must do three things, he argued: first, produce a "joint program" for the voters; second, stress in their campaign, even when their nominees are campaigning against each other, that any candidate within the "liberal bloc" is "preferable" to any candidate of the right or left; and third, announce that "neither of them is willing to take part without the other in any kind of government coalition" after the election. This would make clear to the voters, Kende said, that the liberals are not willing to join a government in a subordinate position. "The voter then could decide, on the basis of this knowledge, whom he should vote for."

The author of the second BESZELO article, Attila Weber, agreed with Kende that the liberals are in a weak position because of interparty tensions, which he suggested were partially the responsibility of both sides. Like Kende, he wrote that the central problem is disagreement over Fidesz's conviction that the left is a greater threat than the far right. "Even if the party did not move to the right, in any case it became more open toward the right-leaning or national Christian parties," which Fidesz—unlike the SZDSZ—considered to be essentially different from the extreme right. A scandal involving the MDF and Fidesz, both of which were accused of irregularities in selling a building assigned to them as part of a postelection agreement on the allocation of party property, also helped "sweep Fidesz into the Democratic Forum camp," along with Fidesz's decision to emphasize its "commitment to national values"—as opposed to the internationalist orientation of the SZDSZ. It was a "significant consequence" of these developments, Weber said, that Fidesz's relations with Budapest intellectuals, especially those "who dominate the [print] media, turned ugly." Hinting that the print media were instrumental in clouding the image of Fidesz—which has "steadily lost popularity" since November 1992—Weber wrote that the popular perception of Fidesz was "embellished with new lines" during published "polemics with the intellectuals."

Weber held out even less hope than Kende that these tensions can be resolved in time to have a positive effect on the election chances of the SZDSZ and Fidesz. In recent months "the conflict between the liberal parties has increased" so much that during the election campaign "there can be only limited cooperation" between them. Consequently, he said, the liberals' ability to attract votes has drastically decreased, creating a situation that can "easily lead to the polarization of the political system" between the left and right, with no significant liberal camp to bridge the gap dividing them.

Walesa on Domestic, International Situation

BR1404145194 Paris LE FIGARO (LE FIG-ECO Supplement) in French 14 Apr 94 p 10

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by Christophe Turowski; place and date not given: "Poland: Budgetary Dispute—Lech Walesa: 'Government Lied to the Polish People'"]

[Text] For the last few months, President Lech Walesa has been at loggerheads with Poland's government coalition. The Polish president has challenged almost every project making up the 1994 budget law passed on 5 March by Parliament, which remains dominated by the post-communists. On 12 April the President finally agreed to promulgate the budget. The government anticipates a $3.77 billion deficit (4.1 percent of GDP) and a 27-percent inflation rate. In an interview with "LE FIG-ECO," Lech Walesa explains why he has taken so long to approve the government's proposed budget.

[Turowski] Do you agree with those who claim that the political situation is currently stabilizing in Poland?

[Walesa] Absolutely. Poland has been carrying out economic reforms with a lot of rigor, but the lack of capital prevents us from making more headway, and the West is still pondering the same question: "to invest or not to invest in Poland?"

[Turowski] Supposing you were a foreign investor, would you invest your money in Poland given the current political situation?

[Walesa] Yes, because Poland is a large country which has been developing very dynamically, a country with 40 million citizens and free of ethnic, religious or other conflicts.

[Turowski] Why would you not sign the 1994 budget, which had been approved by the IMF and the World Bank and would make it possible to reduce Poland's debt to the Club of London faster?

[Walesa] Economically, the budget is sound, except for a few details. But it is a liberal budget which does not conform to the current government coalition's electoral promises.

"Communist Methods"

So I ask the coalition this crucial question: why did you lie to the Polish people? Why did you promise that economic policy would change, only to adopt now the same policies as those followed four years ago by the party born of Solidarnosc ?

[Turowski] So it is politics above economics?

[Walesa] No. But I would like, once and for all, that the Polish people be told the truth. On the other hand, the Solidarnosc union had asked me not to sign the budget passed by Parliament. This means it is opposed by part of the population, and I also had to take that into account. The budget is developed for the population, not the other way around.

[Turowski] Although it is now seeking your protection, Solidarnosc had drifted a considerable distance away from you—its charismatic leader—at its last conference...

[Walesa] ...And lost its place in Parliament as a result. Had Solidarnosc's leaders listened to me at the time, we would all be in a different situation today. So the union is now fussing about, trying a little blindly to define its direction and its place in a society that changes fast, very fast.

[Turowski] The strikes sponsored by Solidarnosc over the last few weeks have not been a massive success...

[Walesa] They can start again at any time if the population is not taken seriously.

[Turowski] Do you really want to satisfy populist demands? This would lead to increasing the money supply which would lead to increased inflation in a very short time.

[Walesa] I do not share such fears, as the Polish population has already given ample proof of its intelligence and patience.

[Turowski] In a similar vein, you rejected the coalition's candidate for the position of deputy prime minister and economy and finance minister, a noted specialist who now works for the United Nations. Thus because of you the Polish economy has been leader- less for two months. Why?

[Walesa] The government coalition has an excessive regard for communist management methods. The way things used to be was that the Politburo would make every decision and all the government had to do would be to carry out its orders.

Today, things are not the same: The role of the President of the Republic is no longer to rubber-stamp and to keep his mouth shut. For various reasons, I do not trust the only candidate that was presented to me.

There are even politicians who say that I have been destabilizing Poland; they are mistaken; I just want the men who steer the Polish economy to be above reproach and to be true to the promises made to the population.

"Europe Bogged Down"

[Turowski] Let us now talk about relations between Poland and Europe. You have been highly critical of these over the last few months. What are your main concerns?

[Walesa] It are Western Europe's misconceptions about the interests of our Old Continent. Harmonious cooperation between Central and Eastern Europe is just as important for the latter as it is for the West.

The association agreements between Poland and the European Union give Poland a privileged position and, two years into these agreements, Poland's trade balance is negative. How can you expect me to be satisfied? Nevertheless, Poland filed its formal application for European Union membership a few days ago.

[Turowski] Within the European Union, there are those who say that Central and Eastern European countries must first strengthen ties between themselves, and then apply together for European Union membership. What is your opinion?

[Walesa] I want to remind you here that two years ago I suggested that we should create our own versions of the EC and NATO. Cooperation among countries located between the Vistula [as published], Dnepr, and Danube rivers is essential, and it has been growing. In this respect, much remains to be done. Regardless of all good-neighborly relations and cooperation treaties already signed, we must never cease to strengthen economic relations.

However, this is not something that can be imposed by the European Union or by ourselves. Only daily life and daily work can bring us closer to this ultimate goal.

Today, Western Europe sometimes tends to look for rather strange solutions, because it does not comprehend the changes that have taken place in the East. There is no doubt that the communist system has collapsed, while Western Europe has yet to come to terms with the changes that take place every day in Central and Eastern Europe. It is Europe that is now bogged down while we are advancing at the double.

Walesa Calls For 'United States of Europe'

LD1404170894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 13 Apr 94

[Text] Prior to tomorrow's meeting of seven presidents in Litomysl, Polish President Lech Walesa has granted an exclusive interview to Czech Radio. The interview is presented by our Warsaw correspondent Miroslav Karas.

[Begin recording] [Karas] Mr. President, recently you have called several times on Western Europe, and above all on the United States, to be more active and take speedier steps and more courageous decisions. You have also expressed your alarm over the situation in Europe following the fall of communism and the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact. You have described the countries of this part of the continent as a no-man's-land. Will you explain your words in more detail?

[Walesa, in Polish fading to Czech translation] Everything I have done and I am doing is being done with a view to greater security in Europe; in one Europe—not central Europe or eastern Europe or whatever Europe. It is clear that for such a Europe to emerge it is necessary to change its geography. The Warsaw Pact and the CEMA have disappeared and we have not formed anything new. The West has understandably stopped fearing communism and the Warsaw Pact, and is keeping us in a state of uncertainty.

As you know, I am not scared by any difficulties and dangers—I do not fear them if I know them. At present I do not know them. I do not know what can happen—whether somebody will form a military pact here or whether we will begin to dispute our borders. This is why I found myself in uncertainty and this is the source of my objections to the West. Following the disappearance of the old structures the West has not attempted to change the continent's geography to include us—I mean the countries which need it—into the security zone. And this applies also to the economc sphere. The present period is not a period of confrontation, and therefore there is no need for the chain's individual links to be of the same strength. It is possible to create conditions for them and they themselves will take care of gaining the necessary strength.

However, this is not the only reason for my objections. When I hear that we are forming the Partnership for Peace, and that one of the partners is to be bigger and that the other is given a chance to keep its nuclear weapons—I have to say, sorry. For me this is something similar to the Yalta Agreement. With the help of the United States let's build one Partnership for Peace in Europe! Let's include Russia, with its nuclear weapons!

And subsequently, let's push America out of Europe!—and we will thus create the United States of Russia.

However, what I want is a United States of Europe and thus observing all this I want to warn and call on all those who bear responsibility to pay attention to the fact that we have found ourselves at a crossroads, and if we make a mistake now it will be my grandchildren who pay for it. I simply do not want to commit any mistake. [end recording]

Party Officials View Walesa Use of Veto Power

WS1404130094 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Robert Krasowski: "A Vetoing Lech Walesa?"]

[Text] Recently, President Lech Walesa has been using his veto power more and more frequently. We asked some politicians to assess the way he has been availing himself of this right. According to Jan Maria Rokita, it is a "veto by surprise," while Tomasz Nalecz describes Walesa's vetoes as "provocative and exacerbating," and Ludwik Dorn uses the term "destructive."

The preannounced veto by the president regarding the electoral law to gmina [small administrative units] councils, would already be the 11th veto in Lech Walesa's term of office. The greatest emotions were stirred by two vetoes of an electoral law in 1991 (both of which were

overruled), a veto regarding the law on radio and television in 1991 (not overruled), and one regarding a law on retirement pensions for uniformed officials in 1993 (not overruled).

In recent weeks, the president has definitely reminded us of his veto prerogative more often. He vetoed a neopopiwek [wage-controlling] statute by making the claim that it tries to interfere with the level of earnings in private companies, and that the statute violates the law by granting the government a parliamentary privilege to set taxes. For a long time, the president also suggested the possibility of not signing the Budget Law because of its failure to implement the breakthrough announced by the now governing coalition during the elections. But once he finally approved of the budget, the very same day he announced he will veto an electoral law for self-governmental elections.

Many politicians of the governing coalition sharply criticized the moves by the president, saying that Walesa was driven by a hostility toward the coalition and his goal was to achieve political destabilization. But the governing coalition failed to gather the necessary two-thirds majority required to overrule the veto on neopopiwek. Many papers in turn published articles in which efforts were made to establish whether the president is violating the legal order by his measures.

According to Lech Falandysz—deputy chief of the President's Office and the Belvedere's main legal expert—the president is simply using his powers, while not violating the law at the same time.

"Some politicians should first read the Small Constitution and only then start making judgments on the president's measures"—Falandysz says. "Besides, the president will not allow anybody to tell him how to use his powers."

In the view of Falandysz, to meet the demand that the president make his reservations known before a law is adopted by the Sejm and, in this way, try to influence the legislative process in parliament, would mean an elimination of veto power altogether.

"The president would have to fight for his ideas on laws in parliamentary commissions and he would also be accused of interfering with parliament proceedings"—Falandysz states.

It Would Be Unacceptable in the United States

Center Accord Deputy Chairman Ludwik Dorn: Aside from Russia, the only president with veto power is the U.S. President. If he has any reservations regarding a bill, he does not wait until it is passed by Congress. Representatives of the presidential administration simply suggest their protests—without using the media as a go-between—and then they examine the configuration of forces in Congress.

Only after it turns out that the congressional majority does not want a compromise, the president makes a public statement that in case the bill is passed, he will use his veto power. But even in such cases, there is usually a meeting between the president and congressional leaders, and the dispute most often ends in a compromise. But if a veto is indeed used, then the whole thing is of dramatic dimensions.

What is important in that practice, is the complete accountability of both sides, the awareness of what it is that the other side wants, and also the fact that neither side is eager to put the opponent against the wall. Simply put, nobody regards the dispute as a zero-sum game. What happened with the Budget Law in Poland would be unthinkable in the United States.

In Walesa's case, I do not recall any occasion in the past where he would make an advanced warning that he may veto a law. He applies his veto power in a destructive manner.

After all, the truth is that Walesa is not making use of his prerogatives, the men and the resources at his disposal, to influence the contents of laws. So it is very clear that he does not care about specific issues but only about strengthening his own position.

Presidential 'No' Is Just Like the President Himself

Jan Maria Rokita, deputy chairman of the Democratic Union Parliamentary Club: Situations arising in the United States show that over there, a "veto by surprise"—which President Lech Walesa often applies—is an unknown phenomenon.

But Walesa has some arguments in his favor. First of all, in Poland there is no formula for the president's participation in parliament's legislative proceedings during which he could submit remarks on draft laws being prepared. The Belvedere's representatives take part in the commissions' proceedings only when presidential initiatives are debated.

Second, it also happens that the legislative process itself is conducted "by surprise." Some laws are adopted all of a sudden and at an insane speed. The reforms of the state are going on and the legal system is undergoing constant changes, as well. But what speaks against Walesa, is the evaluation of the totality of the style in which he executes his office. It is clear to any observer of the political scene, that Walesa likes to play the card of uncertainty in his position—hence the proverbial "I am in favor and even against." I am convinced that even if the president could actually participate in legislative proceedings, he would definitely not use his right, anyway. Simply put, the current situation is much more comfortable to him. The president likes to catch people by surprise and attack unexpectedly.

Besides, presidential vetoes are becoming an instrument of Walesa's political confrontation with the Democratic Left Alliance, and recently also with the Polish Peasant

Party. If Walesa had decided to veto the Budget Law, then one would have been able to accuse him of initiating brawls. But since he did not veto it after all, a question mark remains in that respect. So I would not make an accusation like that. It is probably true anyway, but it would be hard to find facts to support it. That is because when vetoing the neo-popiwek law and the new local electoral law, Walesa had genuine social support. In the case of neo-popiwek, he was supported by the opposition, and in the case of the electoral law—by self-government groups.

The Vetoes Are Provocative, Exacerbating

Tomasz Nalecz, press spokesman of the Union of Labor's Deputies Club: I am very critical of the way Lech Walesa has been using his presidential veto. I think that when using certain instruments, one should observe rules effective for the entire machinery. Otherwise, you break the machinery.

According to the Small Constitution, the day-to-day ruling of the country is in the hands of the government, with the parliament adopting laws, and the president serving as an umpire. This means that the president is supposed to get involved at a point when the machinery malfunctions. Under this concept, a presidential veto should happen once in a blue moon. But what Lech Walesa is doing, is turning the right of veto into an instrument of day-to-day governing of the country. The way he applies the right to veto leads to political cacophony. It amounts to playing two melodies at the same time.

As is well known, being a Sejm deputy for the Union of Labor, I am not an enthusiast of the current coalition. But one cannot paralyze the functioning of the chief institutions of state power. But Walesa gets an itch every time he comes across an important law—this applies not only to those laws which are supposed to determine something decades into the future, but also to those which pertain to quite immediate issues.

That is why one can regard the presidential vetoes as provocative and exacerbating. President Walesa has made a decision to play his political game. That conflicts with my concept of the Presidency.

This reminds me of a story: An elderly fellow is carrying a big sack and every once in a while he stops and stirs around in the sack with a stick. When asked what he is doing, he responds that he is carrying a sack full of rats and he stirs in the sack so the rats won't bite him on the back. "Then they bite one another"—explains the man.

Defense Minister To Bring Budget to Tribunal

LD1404223994 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk has announced that he has introduced a motion before the president regarding taking legal proceedings against the budget law before the Constitutional Tribunal.

The head of the Defense Ministry objects to the duty imposed by the budget law to buy Polish Iryda planes for the Army.

[Begin Kolodziejczyk recording] The verdict of the Constitutional Tribunal—should it be favorable to the Ministry of National Defense—will eliminate a dangerous precedent. This would be the first point. The second is that I foresee no problems, since the government draft budget would then be restored, and all the orders placed in the remaining 30 enterprises of the armaments industry would then be implemented in full.

At the moment, this money must be found somewhere. It must either be removed from orders already processed by the industry in other enterprises that provide equipment needed by the Army and that fulfill all specifications, or training will have to be cut. This is a matter that is dangerous to the defense capabilities of the country. [end recording]

Minister Kolodziejczyk gave an interview for the "Sygnaly Dnia" program.

Presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski has said that it is not impossible that Lech Walesa will bring action against the budget regarding that part that refers to the Ministry of National Defense.

General Staff Head on Army Command, NATO

WS1404144594 Poznan WPROST in Polish 17 Apr 94 pp 35, 36

[Interview with General Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the General Staff of the Polish Army, by Miroslaw Cielemecki; place and date not given: "The Army Practically Has No Commander Today; Maneuvers"]

[Text] [Cielemecki] After meetings between Polish and Western military commanders information is often leaked to the press that the West will gladly admit Poland to NATO. Later it turns out that no specific decisions are made after those announcements are made. What exactly is going on?

[Wilecki] All declarations should be evaluated wisely, without unnecessary emotions. Military officers and politicians differ their way of evaluating certain phenomena. Western commanders are pragmatic; they really are supporters of fast integration of Poland with the NATO structures. Politicians, however, act in the context of current configurations and political situations. I am an optimist. Contrary to the views expressed by some people, the "Partnership for Peace" program is not a subterfuge of the West. It has drawn us closer to NATO.

[Cielemecki] Perhaps politicians are looking at the problem of extending NATO to Poland as some kind of a stick against Russia?

[Wilecki] I do not think so. Compared to Russia, Poland is too small and weak to be used as a stick, as a bargaining chip. I do not think that NATO politicians had such intentions. Placing Poland opposite Russia would not serve stabilization in our part of Europe—either on the political or on the military platform.

[Cielemecki] Janusz Onyszkiewicz evaluates that the changes recently taking place in the Army management structures, which limit civilian control over it, will prolong the Polish road to NATO.

[Wilecki] I am able to understand the reaction of Deputy Onyszkiewicz. Right now he is a politician of an oppositional party. He is also the author of organizational changes which he introduced when he was the defense minister. I must admit that in many areas they were justified and rational. However, one must also understand the needs of the Armed Forces, which must be allowed a certain autonomy in its activities. In Western systems these issues are not explained unequivocally as well. Generally, I am a supporter of civilian control over the Army. However, not only control, but also duties toward it. Civilian politicians may display their skills and capabilities, among other things, by constructing a broadly-understood defense system.

[Cielemecki] What are the limits of the Army's autonomy, do you think?

[Wilecki] They must allow it to be efficiently steered and managed. Control over the Army must not mean tying its hands and prolonging the decisionmaking process.

[Cielemecki] However, oppositional politicians voice the opinion that Minister Kolodziejczyk has broadened this autonomy too much, that he simply subordinated the Ministry of National Defense [MON] to the General Staff. Is it true that the future general inspector of the Armed Forces will be beyond any control?

[Wilecki] The Polish Army needs a commander for peace time as well. Right now it practically does not have a commander—the commander is neither a minister nor a head of the General Staff. Such a function might be fulfilled by the general inspector of the Armed Forces. At this point I would like to explain one thing: I really am not "dying" to fill that post, as some people think. The recent changes do not mean MON's capitulation. Please note that the previous civilian minister wielded enormous power over the Army; he took advantage of the old legal regulations, in line with which this function was fulfilled by the top-ranking general. Now, can a civilian politician, who often does not even have the elementary military education, command the Army? I do not think that we should lament over the recently-imposed limitations of the role of the so-called civilian section. They do not mean that the Army is getting out of control. MON is managing, steering, and exercising political supervision over the Army. Besides, there is also the parliament, the president, as well as the Supreme Control Chamber and the spokesman for civil rights. The area of civilian power over the Army is still vast. One must say, however, that this supervision is not always sufficiently coherent.

[Cielemecki] What, then, should it look like?

[Wilecki] A debate on the defense system is being prepared in the Sejm. If it is a substantive and constructive debate, if all the problems related to the defense system are noticed, then it will certainly be possible to agree on a coherent control system. Its shape should be decided by politicians; they should bear in mind the broadly-understood political and state interest.

[Cielemecki] Still, you and Minister Kolodziejczyk probably do not think very highly of the competence of the Sejm deputies who decide defense issues?

[Wilecki] Let us not generalize things. In the Sejm, in the Defense Committee, there are many parliamentarians who know a lot about the problems of the Army. There are also others—for example those who have not done their stint in the Army and their contacts with the defense system have been next to none.

[Cielemecki] When the fight for the budget money is going on, the military men warn that the Army has found itself in a critical situation, that it is simply dying. However, when the context of the discussion changes—when the subject of the discussion is our rapid integration with NATO, which does not need weaklings, it turns out that the situation of the Polish Army is not all that bad at all. General, what is your evaluation of the force and combat efficiency of the Polish Army?

[Wilecki] I am embittered that the civilian decisionmakers, who should take good care of the financial condition of the Army, are not fulfilling their tasks. We heard promises that as soon as a civilian ministry was established, it would be a guarantee of greater funds for the defense system. This is not what actually happened. A modern army cannot be built without money.

[Cielemecki] However, you have not answered my question fully.

[Wilecki] It is not possible to make an unequivocal, synthesized evaluation. The Army has not only good segments, but it also has many weaknesses. Generally, it possesses modern combat technology; however, there is too much old equipment. An additional problem is that even though the limitations of Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] have been abolished, our arms industry is not able to immediately manufacture equipment that would meet world standards. We also cannot afford to import much armament. Such a situation—before the industry adjusts itself to new requirements—will last several years. NATO has armies with great potential; we cannot match them. However, there are also weaker and smaller armies. I believe that our Army might already today be placed among the medium-sized armies of the organization, perhaps even a little higher.

[Cielemecki] Integration with NATO means first of all convergent standards, technical compatibility, uniform command systems, similar norms, and so on and so forth. However, it also entails "compatibility" of a different kind—of the people, first of all of the generals and high-ranking commanders. Most of them come from a different epoch, they are saturated with different models of thinking, they cherish different values.

[Wilecki] I agree that not all the people in our Army are top-flight aces. However, the same is true of the West; in the West there are weaknesses as well. I can assure you that we have no reason to be ashamed of our command cadres. Now, as for their mentality and habits, the art of war is the same both here and there. Already now in many areas of a general nature our Army is compatible with the Western Armies.

[Cielemecki] During exercises, on staff maps our own troops and the troops of our allies are marked red and those of the enemy are marked blue. As recently as a few years ago NATO Armies were blue on our maps. Who is now playing the role of "the blue"?

[Wilecki] Now we do not define our enemy that specifically. During exercises, our own units fight against each other; they are assigned appropriate roles. This is the best way to resolve political dilemmas: Who is the ally and who the enemy.

[Cielemecki] However, any armed conflict has a defined, political undercurrent. Is it not an oversimplification of the art of war to eliminate this factor in exercises?

[Wilecki] The best art of war consists of the following: Being strong, well-organized, and literally prepared for everything. We adhere to this principle in building and organizing our Armed Forces. We do not do this with a concrete enemy in mind. We are rather interested in certain canons which are binding in a given period.

[Cielemecki] President Walesa has often pointed at the concentration of the Russian troops in the Kaliningrad Oblast and called it a threat to Poland. How do you—as a military officer—evaluate this threat?

[Wilecki] In line with the recently-concluded international resolutions, Central Europe should be a zone without excessively concentrated military units. The situation in the Kaliningrad Oblast is really disconcerting and it should be thought over. One cannot help asking the question: Does such a far-flung military point serve only the military interests of Russia? Well, but this is a dilemma not for the military, but for politicians. In my opinion, there should not be such highly militarized areas in the new Europe.

[Cielemecki] Two years ago a document called the "Polish martial doctrine" was drawn up. Today it is mentioned increasingly more seldom; its shortcomings are stressed. What, do you think, the main defects of our doctrine are?

[Wilecki] It has partially lost its political validity. In the substantive section, however, it is still valid and we are taking advantage of it in the transformation of our Armed Forces.

[Cielemecki] Both Polish and Western commanders—especially Americans—have already several times said that joint military exercises would be organized. Next there came a rumble from Russia and the issue of joint military undertakings was always moved to an indefinite future. Will they ever be held?

[Wilecki] This moment is drawing near very quickly. Appropriate decisions have already been made. This year joint exercises will be held—for the time being at lower levels. These will be maneuvers with German, Danish, and French units. The idea of joint exercises of aircraft and naval formations is being entertained. I would not like to list any dates and the scale of these undertakings, because detailed agreements are still being discussed. It looks like we are also going to participate in joint Polish-American exercises. We are conducting an exchange at the staff level with the most important ally armies. It is the requirement of the nature of military cooperation that before the units of Poland and NATO stand side by side on a training field, all factors be thought over, including the training factors.

Pawlak Begins Bonn Visit, Meets Kohl

WA1504122893

For German reportage on the visit to Germany by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, including reports on his meeting with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and statements on bilateral relations, see the Germany section of the 15 April West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

U.S. Journalists Banned From Serb Republic

LD1404191594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 14 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Republic (RS) has as of April 14 revoked the credentials and banned the movement in its territory of all American journalists and persons working with U.S. media .

The RS Information Ministry also informed foreign correspondents that it would no longer acknowledge press credentials and visas issued by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces].

This measure follows two NATO air strikes of Serb positions near Gorazde but, as is stated by the Information Ministry, could have m been adopted much earlier because of the unobjective, warmongering and openly anti-Serb coverage of events in the RS by American journalists.

NATO-U.S. planes carried out air strikes Sunday and Monday against the positions of Bosnian Serbs near Gorazde, eastern Bosnia, which should have been demilitarized long ago as a protected area. Instead of being demilitarized more than 10,000 Moslem troops concentrated in this area and surged at the end of March into a fierce offensive against Serb territories.

Following the strong counter-attack of the Serb forces when the Moslems were threatened with total defeat the U.N. got involved in the combat calling on NATO forces to carry out strikes on Serb positions to allegedly protect peacekeepers in Gorazde.

So far the American journalists were given equal treatment as the one reserved for journalists from other countries, the RS ministry statement says.

RS Information Minister Miroslav Toholj praised the decision of Yugoslav Information Minister Slobodan Ignjatovic Tuesday to revoke credentials of the journalists of AFP and CNN for spreading anti-Serb propaganda, the Bosnian Serb agency SRNA reported Thursday.

SRNA states that Toholj supports the decision because the war-mongers with journalist accreditations are responsible for the largest number of the victims of the war in former Yugoslavia, and also those who died as a result of the economic sanctions.

Serbs Surround UN Unit, Demand Return of Arms

AU1404162094 Paris AFP in English 1603 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 14 (AFP)—Serb troops surrounded French UN peacekeepers guarding an arms collection site Thursday [14 April] and threatened them in an attempt to reclaim heavy weapons, a UN spokesman said.

Serb soldiers and a tank confronted 30 French troops guarding weapons at Krivoglavci, northwest of Sarajevo, and demanded the weapons, said Eric Chaperon, a spokesman for the UN Protection Force.

The weapons were placed under UN control following a February 9 accord between Bosnian Serbs and Moslems on a ceasefire and withdrawal of heavy weapons within a radius of 20 kilometres (12 miles) from the capital Sarajevo.

The spokesman could not describe the nature of Serb threats but said the situation was tense.

A high-ranking UNPROFOR official telephoned the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale after the encirclement at 2:OO p.m. (1200 GMT), and the Serb tank withdrew. Serb troops continued to surround the weapons site, the spokesman said.

Serb troops tried to seize heavy weapons from the Krivoglavci site on Tuesday but withdrew after receiving orders from their command post of Lukavica, contacted by UNPROFOR.

Following Sunday and Monday's NATO air strikes on Serb positions around the eastern Bosnia Moslem enclave of Gorazde, Serb troops have also placed mines around three weapons collection sites, blocking UN personnel guarding the sites, an UNPROFOR spokesman said Wednesday.

British UN Troops Near Maglaj Return Fire

AU1504112594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] The Serbian aggressor's soldiers yesterday on two occasions opened fire on a British base near Maglaj, it was reported in the Sarajevo headquarters of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] today. The British responded with fire and there were no casualties among them, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Rob Annink announced.

He confirmed that the Serb aggressor shelled Travnik and Turbe yesterday and that several aggressor grenades were also fired at Zenica.

Serbs Take Dutch Military Observers Hostage

LD1504114694 Hilversum Radio Netherlands in English 1130 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Two Dutch military observers have been taken hostage near Sarajevo. The two were detained by Bosnian Serbs in separate incidents. Another Dutch soldier has been held hostage since the beginning of the week somewhere in eastern Bosnia.

UNHCR Officials 'Under House Arrest'

LD1504133794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1203 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] At least eight UN High Commission for Refugees officials are being held under house arrest in Serb-held Bosnian territory, according to a spokesman in Zagreb, Peter Kessler. He said that the organization's staff had been instructed to remain in their offices and added that a similar restriction had been enforced in Banja Luka for several days.

NATO Warns of Possibility of More Strikes

AU1404181794 Paris AFP in English 1752 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 14 (AFP)—Serb commanders Thursday [14 April] sent troops and a tank to surround French UN peacekeepers guarding an arms collection site near Sarajevo, sparking a NATO warning of air-strikes to punish similar breaches of its heavy weapons exclusion zone.

Serb soldiers ordered 30 French troops guarding weapons at Krivoglavci, northwest of Sarajevo, to hand over the weapons, said Eric Chaperon, a spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The arms were placed under UN control following a February 9 accord between Bosnian Serbs and Moslems on a ceasefire and withdrawal of heavy weapons from a radius of 20 kilometres (12 miles) from the capital Sarajevo, in line with a UN and NATO ultimatum.

A UN spokesman said a high-ranking UNPROFOR official had telephoned the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale after the encirclement at 2:OO p.m. (1200 GMT).

The tank—whose presence marked a violation of the exclusion zone—later withdrew into surrounding woodland but a "tense" stand-off continued, the spokesman said.

In Brussels, a spokesman for the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation reaffirmed the alliance's determination to enforce the heavy arms exclusion zone.

"NATO's mandate to conduct air strikes—in close coordination with the UN secretary general and upon request of the UN—on any uncontrolled weapons in a 20 km exclusion zone around Sarajevo, is still in force.

"Close air support to UNPROFOR troops in danger can be provided if requested by UNPROFOR commanders and approved by UN special representative Mr. (Yasushi) Akashi," the statement added.

Serb troops tried to seize heavy weapons from the Krivoglavci site on Tuesday but withdrew after receiving orders from their command post in the Serb-held Sarajevo suburb of Lukavica, after it had been contacted by UNPROFOR.

Following Sunday and Monday's NATO air strikes on Serb positions around the eastern Bosnia Moslem enclave of Gorazde, Serb troops have also placed mines around three weapons collection sites, blocking UN personnel guarding the sites, an UNPROFOR spokesman said Wednesday.

Serbs: UN Withdrawal Cedes Positions to Muslims

LD1404185894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—The Information Service of the Serb Republic Army's [VRS] main headquarters has said in a statement that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] units deployed on Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica, after they had taken over VRS positions on the basis of the agreement of 30 July 1993, today withdrew to the area of Hrasnica and to Sarajevo airport as agreed upon between the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the UNPROFOR command in Sarajevo.

The statement says that by withdrawing their units from these positions, UNPROFOR is enabling the Muslim forces that come from Sarajevo through a tunnel under the airport to attack VRS positions and Serb territory in Trnovo and on Rogoj, with the objective to link Gorazde and Sarajevo.

These offensive actions—as well as those already taken from various locations against the plateau of Nisici—are aiding the Muslim offensive aimed at breaking up and conquering the territory of Serb Sarajevo.

The actions coordinated between UNPROFOR and the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are aimed at forcing an energetic response from the VRS in the Sarajevo area, which would then be used as a pretext for the use of NATO air force against the Serb artillery positions around Sarajevo, which have been grouped and placed under UNPROFOR control, the statement says.

Serbs Declare Rose 'Persona non Grata'

LD1404144994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1410 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 14 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) Biljana Plavsic on Thursday said that all persons who had approved the NATO air strikes against the R.S. must be excluded from the further consultations on the resumption of the peace talks for the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"General Rose is a persona non grata on the territory held by the R.S. army. He simply must leave. His departure would be one of the Serb side's three conditions for the resumption of the talks," Plavsic said on Radio Jagodina (town in central Serbia).

The other two conditions on which the R.S. insists have been presented by R.S. President Radovan Karadzic,

and they are the lifting of sanctions against the Serb people and the signing of a peace agreement for all of Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, Plavsic said.

Asked to comment the report from New York that the Sarajevo formula should be applied in the case of Gorazde, too, Plavsic said that "the Serb side categorically rejects a Sarajevo formula which would be applied in Gorazde, because the situation is not the same." "The Serbs will not accept the Sarajevo model for Gorazde," she underscored.

U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, British General Michael Rose on Sunday requested that NATO aircraft raid Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde, a U.N.-protected "safe area" in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

U.S. NATO aircraft raided Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde on Sunday and Monday, under the pretext of protecting UNPROFOR members.

Before the air strikes were launched, the Muslim side had accused the Serbs of attacking civilian targets in Gorazde, while the Serbs insisted that the Muslims were using the town of Gorazde for attacks on Serb positions. Gorazde should have been demilitarized last spring as a U.N.-protected "safe area."

UNPROFOR representatives, for their part, had confirmed that the fighting in the area of Gorazde had been provoked by the Muslim side.

"The U.N. decision to bomb the army and civilians in the R.S. is an act of aggression on the R.S. We were aware that UNPROFOR was aiding the Muslims since July 1992, when we were forbidden to use Sarajevo airport to transport our wounded. However, now that we have been bombed, too, both the politicians and the army must realize that the U.N. peace-keepers are enemies of the Serb people," Plavsic said.

"The case of Gorazde has shown from the international aspect that the agreements between Western powers and Russia are not being respected. Only consent was asked of Great Britain, while it appears that nobody had consulted Russia at all," the R.S. vice- president set out.

General Rose continues saying that the R.S. army has stopped outside Gorazde and that there is no more shooting, all in an effort to prove that air raids are an effective method, Plavsic said.

She set out that she left Gorazde on Wednesday night strongly convinced that the raiding of the Bosnian Serb positions had strengthened the Bosnian Serb troops in their determination to defend every inch of R.S. territory and the conviction that the U.N. peace-keepers were now an enemy of the Serb people.

"It is up to the international community to evaluate the success of the aggression," Plavsic said.

Serb General Assails UNPROFOR's Rose

LD1504142994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Zvornik, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—General Michael Rose, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] commander for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, is personally responsible for the abuse of the UN peace mission on the territory of the Srpska Republic and the transformation of the UNPROFOR command into an executive branch of NATO, Major General Milan Gvero, assistant commander in chief of the Army of the Srpska Republic, has told TANJUG.

According to Gvero, "on the basis of fabricated reasons and untrue reports he made a decision to use the NATO air force against the Serbs and thus caused UNPROFOR to become militarily involved in this civil war on the Muslim side."

Gen. Gvero explained that Gen. Rose did this "at a moment when an agreement on the complete and permanent cessation of hostilities throughout the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as proposed by the Army of the Srpska Republic, was about to be signed."

"He personally did not have any objections to our draft agreement," Gen. Gvero said, adding that Gen. Rose even assessed the draft agreement as "too good," but said the Muslims would not sign it.

According to Gvero, Rose should have "put pressure on the belligerent Muslims to sign that agreement," but instead of that "he encouraged them and sent the air force against the Serbs, who were proposing peace."

"By this he displayed complete partiality and behavior totally at odds with the UN peace mission," Gvero said, stressing that Rose "did not prove to be up to this complex situation." [passage omitted]

"While we were able to discuss facts with ease with Rose's compatriot General Ramsey and with other generals—which is why good results were achieved in those periods—Gen. Rose cannot rid himself of the syndrome of one-sided textbook schemes, according to which he is a 'good guy.' He is always right in advance while all those who are defending their country are bad and incompetent."

According to Gvero, Gen. Rose "is behaving in this sensitive situation as if he had just been dropped in with his parachute and had met 'bad Serb guys.' That is what he has been told," Gvero stated.

"Gen. Rose lost credibility with the Serb people when he finally took off his mask and sent a combat air force to kill civilians and defenders of the Serb territory, and he has neither a moral, nor military, nor political basis to participate any further in the peace process in the area," Gen. Gvero believes. [passage omitted]

Serbs Claim NATO Taking Over Tuzla Airport

LD1504133694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—The information service of the general staff of the army of the Srpska Republic issued a communique today saying that the general staff has reliable information that Tuzla airport is being placed under NATO control.

The communique, which was forwarded to TANJUG, says parts of the Nordic UN battalion are being withdrawn from the airport and control is being taken over by 150 U.S. Army soldiers who were airlifted from The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to Tuzla.

"We also have information that only NATO transport aircraft have been landing at the airport, bringing in weapons and military equipment from NATO bases for the Muslims and airlifting NATO rapid intervention units," the communique says.

The communique goes on to say that it is a well-known fact that the Serb side and top Russian representatives agreed that the Serbs will agree to the reopening of Tuzla airport only for peaceful and humanitarian purposes, and provided that Russian UN observers and Serb Army liaison officers are deployed there.

"Despite the fact that no agreement on the reopening of Tuzla airport has been signed and that Russian observers and Serb officers are not deployed there, the NATO troops, under UN auspices, have been transporting weapons and military equipment for the Muslims, thus crudely violating the embargo on importing weapons for the warring sides in this area. That is why they are replacing UN Protection Forces troops with NATO personnel, i.e. with U.S. Army soldiers," the communique says.

"These facts and other intelligence reports confirm our assessments and indicate that Tuzla airport will not be used for peace and humanitarian flights at all, but exclusively for arming the Muslims and setting up a NATO base," the communique says.

Sarajevo Airport Closed After UN Targeted

AU1404201594 Paris AFP in English 1944 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, April 14 (AFP)—Sarajevo airport was closed late Thursday [14 April] after unidentified firing targetted UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] helicopters, an UNPROFOR spokesman said.

Captain Eric Chaperon said two helicopters—a Sea King and a Puma—were targetted in the attack, but did not say if they were hit or where the firing had come from.

Only UNPROFOR planes had been continuing to use the airport, he said, since the UN High Commissioner for Refugees suspended aid flights to Sarajevo in the wake of the Gorazde attacks. [passage omitted]

NATO Aircraft Overfly Serb Positions

LD1404182794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1733 GMT 14 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Excerpt] Cajnice, April 14 (TANJUG)—NATO aircraft flew over Bosnian Serb positions between Gorazde and Cajnice in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina at 16:00 hours local time on Thursday, TANJUG has learned from Bosnian Serb Army (VRS) sources.

According to the same sources, there have be no reports about whether the aircraft undertook combat action in the area of the two towns which are close to the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

U.S. NATO aircraft on Sunday and Monday raided Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde, a U.N.-protected "safe area" which should have been demilitarized last spring. Not only that Gorazde has not been demilitarized, but it was used to mass over 10,000 Muslim troops and launch a strong offensive on Bosnian Serb territory in late March. [passage omitted]

NATO 'Intimidation' of Serbs at Tuzla

LD1404230894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2236 GMT 14 Apr 1994

["Pool" item]

[Text] Rome, April 14 (TANJUG)—NATO sources in Italy said that NATO planes buzzed the Moslem-held town of Tuzla in northeastern Bosnia for three hours on Thursday to deter Bosnian Serbs from attacking U.N. troops on the ground.

A NATO spokesman said the U.N. troops in Tuzla were directly threatened by Serb forces which repeatedly shelled the airport and the town itself. Tuzla is held by the Moslems. The Serb troops are deployed around the town.

Pairs of U.S. A-10 planes from NATO's base in Aviano, British Harriers from the Arc Royal air carrier and Jaguars from the Gioia Del Cole base, and Dutch F-16s from Villafranca were engaged in the "intimidation" action.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said on Thursday that NATO transporter planes had been shipping war materiel to Tuzla for days although the local airport had not been officially reopened.

The airport can only be used for humanitarian flights, Karadzic was categorical. He also said two transporters that were about to land at Tuzla on Thursday decided otherwise after the Serb side warned them not to land.

"I think this is better than to down them."

The Bosnian Serb command on Monday accused NATO of transferring parts of it rapid deployment force to Tuzla.

Fred Eckhard, spokesman for the U.N. secretary-general, told TANJUG on Tuesday he knew nothing about that but did not rule out the possibility that troops and equipment for securing the airport might have been airborne to Tuzla.

"We have warned them that the airport will be reopened only on the basis of an agreement between us and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, peace envoy Vitaliy Churkin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev," said Karadzic.

Bosnian Serbs opposed the reopening of Tuzla airport fearing it might be used for shipping arms to the Moslems, and insisted that Bosnian Serb and Russian U.N. monitors be deployed at the facility to inspect its operation.

Koljevic Says 'Threats' by U.S. 'Big Mistake'

AU1404173094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Telephone interview with Nikola Koljevic, deputy leader of the Bosnian Serbs, by Dragan Colovic; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Colovic] Good day, Mr. Koljevic.

[Koljevic] Good day.

[Colovic] We here think that the atmosphere is somewhat calmer, that diplomatic-political activities are being stepped up, and that the situation is better than it was yesterday or the day before yesterday. Do you agree?

[Koljevic] Yes, I also think that the situation is somewhat calmer, although it is still very difficult to calm the justified anger of the entire Serbian nation that was caused by the air strikes. I think this will not be easy to do without recognizing, acknowledging the very vital interests of the Serbs in the Serbian republic and the Serbian people as a whole.

However, [words indistinct] is easier today than yesterday because there are new initiatives.

[Colovic] Vitaliy Churkin, envoy of Russian President Yeltsin, stated yesterday that this was the moment when a decision has to be made on which path to take, whether to aim for peace or war. One can conclude from the context of his fairly long statement that the Serbs will not do anything—if, of course, not provoked—that would endanger peace and even his personal efforts. In this context he made some proposals, initiatives to the leadership in Pale regarding the continuation of the peace negotiations. Mr. Koljevic, when can we expect a response to these initiatives.

[Koljevic] I think that the response to these initiatives could be expected tomorrow, because a decision on possible future contacts with the United Nations will be made at the meeting of the supreme command of the army of the Serbian republic tomorrow. Contacts with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] are out of the question for the time being. However, we will very seriously consider a possibility of contacts with the civilian sector, those who are not directly involved in military matters, and thus in the bombing. If the decision is positive, then a meeting with the representatives of the civil authorities or civil sector, above all, Mr. Akashi, could take place very soon.

[Colovic] There is one encouraging fact, and I hope you will agree with this, namely that Owen and Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the Geneva Conference, who have been out of the game for some time, have now rejoined the diplomatic-political action. They are now back in the game and it is interesting that they returned to the game after your meeting with them in Paris.

[Koljevic] Yes. We followed a basic criterion after these aggressive attacks on the Serbian people and the Serbian republic. Our criterion was simple. Those people and those forces who were not directly involved in these attacks are possible partners for talks. Considering that Russia was not informed [about the air strikes], as has been publicly announced, we held a series of consultative meetings with Mr. Churkin. Since Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg were not involved in this action either, in fact they were left aside, they were considered as possible partners for talks. They even offered their good services. If it is possible to overcome this critical moment, we would find it a lot more acceptable to negotiate via them and via Mr. Churkin rather than anyone else.

[Colovic] Mr. Koljevic, you said if this critical moment is possible to overcome at all. New threats are coming from the United States. How should they be interpreted?

[Koljevic] I can interpret them as yet another mistake, a big mistake of causing anger among the Serbian people. I have already said several times that the unity and anger of the Serbian people can only be caused by such unjustified threats. I hope that this will remain at the verbal level and that the mistakes made so far will not be fatal. After all, we will see whether the international community, above all the United States, cares more about establishing peace and separation, but above all peace, than about threatening the Serbs and menacing the Serbian people as a whole.

[Colovic] Mr. Koljevic, can we expect meetings between the military commanders of the Serbian and Muslim forces to take place soon, at which they could reach an agreement that would prevent further incidents, new provocations, by above all the Muslim side.

[Koljevic] I do not believe that such meetings are possible at present. However, agreements or contacts will be

possible indirectly, via the civil authorities. Direct ones are out of the question at present.

[Colovic] You are continuing your activities today. Can you tell us a little more about your intentions for the next few hours?

[Koljevic] There will be a number of consultations on, above all, our principled stand in this situation, then on our military situation. Muslim forces are launching fresh offensive attacks in different parts of the Serbian republic. Therefore, we will hold diplomatic and military consultations today, and tomorrow, we will decide on our conduct in the days ahead.

[Colovic] You are talking about the meeting of the supreme command of the Serbian republic.

[Koljevic] Yes.

[Colovic] Mr. Koljevic, thank you very much.

[Koljevic] Thank you and thanks to the listeners.

Serbs Launch Attack on Brcko Municipality

LD1404141694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] This morning, in an attempt to widen the corridor through Bosanska Posavina, the Serbs again launched a heavy artillery and infantry attack on the free territory of Brcko municipality. Over 400 tank, howitzer, and mortar shells have landed on the Croatian village of (Bodariste). All the lines jointly held by members of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were also pounded.

Three infantry forays were attempted during these attacks, during which two HVO soldiers were killed and six wounded.

Serb Attacks Continue; Muslims Counterattack

AU1404194494

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 14 April carries in its regular 45-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

Describing the situation in Gorazde, Enes Musovic says that "the chetniks have been fiercely shelling all the residential areas this afternoon. It has been particularly bad in Vitkovici and the surrounding villages." He says that "the chetniks have been pounding the village of Kopaci with multiple rocket launchers. The latest information is that the chetnik heavy artillery and infantry attacks are still under way on (Borova) from the direction of Ustipraca. There is very fierce hand-to-hand fighting."

Enes Osmancevic reports from Tuzla that "this morning Karadzic's Serbs fired with tanks and artillery at Tuzla airport. A dozen destructive shells were fired at the airport from Jablanica on Mt. Majevica, which has been under the control of Karadzic's terrorists since the outbreak of the war." He says that "just after this artillery attack on Tuzla airport, NATO planes appeared and patrolled for a while over Tuzla and Mt. Majevica."

Reporting from Bihac, Mirza Sadikovic says that "the defenders have been heroically resisting attacks that have been coming in waves. In decisive counterattacks, the defenders today eliminated dozens of chetniks and destroyed one T-55 tank. As for Buzim, the attacks on this area have been increasingly coming from the territory of Croatia, that is, from the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, and the enemy mortar shells have also been sailing over the heads of members of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR]."

Reporting on the situation in Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "the Serbian aggressor's troops have today carried out a whole series of tank and infantry attacks. There have been nine of them on the Omerbegovaca-Vranovaca-Boderiste direction alone, and at the moment of reporting chetnik infantry and tanks, supported by all sorts of artillery pieces, are attacking the central part of the Brcko defenses, and again Omerbegovaca, Vranovaca, and Boderiste. These attacks, which were launched late this afternoon, came after the aggressor received new amounts of MTS [expansion unknown] from Banja Luka." He says that "over 3,000 shells of various types have landed on the Brcko defense lines today, and the enemy commanders are also not sparing their manpower. Such losses by the aggressor have been unseen here since last summer. The fighters of the 108th Motorized and the 108th Infantry Brigade have brought the chetniks to their knees today. At 1615 the fighters of the 108th Motorized Brigade destroyed a chetnik tank with its entire crew, then they destroyed the command post of an enemy unit, and then a chetnik stronghold on the central part of the Brcko front. There was a real slaughter of chetniks in the Omerbegovaca- Vranovaca-Boderiste direction. (Two) high-ranking enemy officers and a number of their retinue still lie dead in front of our positions. The chetnik ambulances have today covered as many kilometers as there are on the Paris-Dakar rally."

Ahmed Begicevic reports from Travnik that "the chetnik shelling started early this morning and throughout the day mortars of all calibers have been landing on the town. The chetniks also shelled the defense lines in Turbe."

Muslims Shelling Doboj; Inter-Muslim Clashes

LD1404210294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1940 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Doboj, April 14 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem forces on Thursday twice shelled the Serb-controlled town of Doboj in north-eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina. About twenty shells hit the town in this former Yugoslav republic but there have been no reports about possible casualties.

In the meantime, Moslem-controlled radio of the autonomous province of western Bosnia reported that eight soldiers of the Fifth Corps loyal to the Sarajevo authorities had been killed and 15 wounded during heavy inter-Moslem clashes in the Cazinska Krajina region in western Bosnia on Thursday morning.

The source also said that three soldiers of the autonomous province had been killed.

Fierce attacks, supported by artillery fire, launched against positions of units loyal to Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic continued in the area of Velika Kladusa and Cazin on Thursday afternoon, Moslem Radio-Sarajevo reported. Two people were killed and 25 wounded in the attacks according to the same source.

Autonomous province of western Bosnia forces are destroying everything in their way with multi-barrelled missile launchers Osa and Zolja, Radio Sarajevo said. The autonomous province was proclaimed last year by Moslems—followers of Fikret Abdic, who oppose Izetbegovic's war-mongering policy.

The command in Sarajevo admitted that about 500 troops had been killed and more than 2,000 wounded during the eight months of inter- Moslem clashes. The provincial army announces a counter-offensive to liberate Cazin, which is held by Izetbegovic's loyalist.

Muslim 'Operation' North of Sarajevo Reported

LD1504105794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—Heavy fighting has been going on for two days on the several-dozen-km-long front line in the northern part of the Sarajevo battlefield.

According to Serb intelligence sources, Muslim forces have engaged about 15,000 soldiers of the 7th, 2d, and 3d Corps, as well as parts of the Sarajevo Corps, in their attacks from the direction of Kakanj and Vares, Mt. Zvijezda, and Olovo.

According to an assessment by Serb military sources, the objective of the comprehensive Muslim operation is to capture the Nisici plateau, to take control of the Nisici-Srednje and Olovo-Sarajevo roads, and to break through the lines in Ilijas and Vogosca, which would enable them to link their forces from central Bosnia with those from Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

Gorazde Seeking 'Help,' Not 'Moral Support'

AU1504093694

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 15 April reports the following combat situation in the republic:

"The situation is so bad that it cannot get worse. This would, in short, be the description of the tragic events in Gorazde yesterday and this morning," correspondent Enes Musovic reports from this town. "The chetniks are charging on all defense lines around Gorazde increasingly more intensively and (?frantically). The UN Security Council resolution by which Gorazde was proclaimed a safe haven is truly tragicomic." Instead of pity and "moral support of the international community," as Musovic continues, "Gorazde needs immediate and concrete help now to stop the chetniks in their onslaught on Gorazde." He says that "the latest reports suggest that 21 people have died while 62 civilians have been injured in Gorazde in the last 24 hours alone. Last night and this morning, the situation has been extremely difficult in (?Zabina), which is being pounded by the chetniks from Cajnice from all available arms."

Hamiz Deronjic, correspondent from "the Brcko free territory," reports that "fierce offensive of Karadzic's Serbs on the free Brcko territory continues. Ferocious tank-infantry attacks, supported by all types of artillery arms, at the positions of the 108th Motorized Brigade and 108th Infantry Brigade have lasted until late last night. The biggest battles were fought on Omerbegovaca-Vranovaca-[place-name indistinct] line." He reports that the fighters of the 108th Motorized Brigade at 1830 last night destroyed another aggressor's T-34 tank with its crew in the region of Omerbegovaca." As he says, "parallel to the attacks on the first defense lines, the artillery of the Serbian aggressor has been shelling the civilian targets on the free Brcko territory. Despite the fact that he is suffering enormous losses in manpower and military hardware, the enemy is intensifying the offensive against the free territory." Deronjic also reports the arrival of fresh Serbian forces and military hardware and their concentration along the front lines. "Fierce attacks of the Chetnik infantry, tanks, and artillery in the area of (?Boderiste) have been underway since 0700," Deronjic says, "and at the moment of sending this dispatch the attacks of the chetnik forces are spreading to the Omerbegovaca-Vranovaca line."

As Mirza Sadikovic reports from Bihac, "through private radio Velkaton, the members of Abdic's war headquarters have announced another offensive against the free territory of the Bihac district, which they have been [words indistinct] carrying our together with the chetniks and [words indistinct] of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina."

UNHCR Confirms Shells Kill Gorazde Children

AU1404165194 Paris AFP in English 1638 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 14 (AFP)—Three children were killed and three injured when Bosnian Serbs shelled Gorazde Thursday [14 April], a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said.

Kris Janovski said two children were killed on the spot and a third died in hospital after the shell hit a usually quiet part of the city around midday.

Radio Sarajevo said two women were also killed in Serb attacks on other parts of the Moslem enclave.

Delic Tells Silajdzic of Need To Continue War

AU1404170994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] On the occasion of the Day of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Army General Rasim Delic, supreme commander of the General Staff, has sent Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister a note of congratulations, which, among other things, says:

We are convinced that this year's marking of the Day of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—when we recall all the difficulties and casualties but also the results we have achieved—will be a great motivation to all of us to continue the war of liberation in an even more organized and effective way, with dignity and courage to persist in the establishment of a just peace.

In that respect, we are aware of the moral obligation we have toward the casualties among the population, the killed fighters, our sehids [Muslim fighters killed in battle], our invalids, and [word indistinct].

I would like to use this opportunity to express my satisfaction and gratitude to you—your personal stature and results, particularly in the diplomatic sense—for being a significant force in preserving and strengthening the moral and combat effectiveness of the units and commands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

This is said in the note of congratulations from Army General Rasim Delic to Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic on the occasion of 15 April, the day of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Mediators To Meet With Bosnian Serb Leaders

AU1504102394 Paris AFP in English 0945 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, April 15 (AFP)—International mediators David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg and special UN envoy Yasushi Akashi were to try to meet Bosnian Serb leaders Friday in a bid to end Serb harassment of UN troops and an upsurge in Serb attacks on Moslem enclave, UN military sources said.

They said the three would travel to the Serb stronghold of Pale, where Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic is based, for a meeting scheduled for 2:00 p.m. (1200 GMT). They did not elaborate.

Vitaly Churkin, Russia's special envoy to former Yugoslavia, has been in Pale, east of Sarajevo, for several days. [passage omitted]

Owen's Praise for Karadzic Proposal Reported

LD1504012894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2314 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 14 (TANJUG)—Co-chairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia Lord Owen on Thursday assessed as very good the agreement on a general cease-fire in civil war torn Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was proposed by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

In a statement to reporters following talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade, Lord Owen explained that the agreement called for the deployment of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) between the warring sides.

It is very important for UNPROFOR to be there because that would reduce the risk of new armed confrontations, Lord Owen said.

Lord Owen said that progress had been achieved in the talks with Milosevic and that he now felt there was reason for greater optimism.

Lord Owen and the other co-chairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, Thorvald Stoltenberg, who was also present at the meeting with Milosevic, said that there were three phases in the present diplomatic activities for resolving the Bosnian crisis.

The first phase begins on Friday when the co-chairmen and special Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin will leave for Pale and Sarajevo, the seat of the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnian Moslems.

The second phase will be the signing of the peace agreement.

The final phase will begin only after the general cease-fire agreement is reached. That phase will cover the precise drawing of maps, the determining of borders between the Serb republic and the Croat-Moslem federation and the lifting of the sanctions, Lord Owen said.

The U.N. Security Council imposed comprehensive and binding sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in late May 1992 because of its alleged involvement in the war of local Serbs, Croats and Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Churkin, who joined the talks between the co-chairmen and Milosevic, explained Moscow's stand on this issue, Lord Owen said.

Lord Owen said that if they [word indistinct] be partners in the peace process, then that partnership should not cover only the drawing of maps, but also the specification of the process of the gradual suspension of the sanctions.

Prior to today's joint meeting with the co-chairmen, Churkin met with Milosevic three times in the past 24 hours.

UN Envoys, Churkin Meet With Karadzic in Pale

AU1504142494 Paris AFP in English 1349 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 15 (AFP)—UN envoy Yasushi Akashi and mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg met with

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic Friday, the first such meetings since NATO air strikes on Serb forces around Gorazde, the Serbs reported.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said Russian special envoy Vitaliy Churkin, who has been mediating between the Serbs and the United Nations, was also at the meeting in the Serb headquarters at Pale outside Sarajevo.

The talks came a week after the Bosnian Serbs announced they were suspending contacts with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in the wake of the NATO raids against Serbs beseiging the eastern Moslem enclave of Gorazde Sunday and Monday.

Since then Bosnian Serb harassment of UN forces has increased dramatically, with a large number of UN personnel held against their will in the exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

Churkin has been in Pale, east of Sarajevo, for several days, trying to mediate with the Bosnian Serbs. Karadzic was also accompanied at the talks by his deputies, Nikola Koljevic and Biljana Plavsic,

SRNA said the meeting in Pale was aimed at relaunching the Bosnian peace process, seriously jeapordized by events since the Gorazde air strikes.

Radio Sarajevo Friday reported renewed fighting overnight in the besieged enclave of Gorazde. The casualty toll in Gorazde has risen to 12 dead, including three children, and 49 injured in the last 24 hours, the radio said.

Leaders Begin Talks on Muslim, Croat Federation

AU1404153994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] This morning in Sarajevo talks began between the top level delegations of the Bosnian and the Croatian part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, led by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Kresimir Zubak.

The talks concern the constitution of the bodies of authority and institutions of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Charles Redman, special envoy of the U.S. President, is expected to attend.

Apart from Kresimir Zubak, the Croatian delegation also consists of Jadranko Prlic, Mariofil Ljubic, Mile Akmadzic, Ivan Bender, and Zoran (Bunjdi).

Silajdzic, Zubak Comment on Talks

AU1404203194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Report by Senada Cumurovic on a news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Bosnian Croat representative Kresimir Zubak in Sarajevo on 14 April—recorded]

[Text] [Cumurovic] Today's top-level meeting, as Kresimir Zubak called it, by the authorized representatives and deputies of the Bosniak and Croatian people was held in a positive atmosphere, and the two delegations analyzed what had been done since the signing of the Washington Agreement.

[Zubak] At the same time we discussed the measures and activities that need to be undertaken to implement the Washington agreement, that is, the constitution adopted by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly.

[Cumurovic] Kresimir Zubak also said that some very significant issues were raised today, for example, how to reorganize the government so that it can function as the government of Bosnia- Herzegovina and the government of the federation, the question of the leading functions in the federation and how to organize the next session of the Constituent Assembly.

[Zubak] We agreed today to hold the next session of the Constituent Assembly sometime between the 28th and 30th of this month. We expect that by that time we will have agreed on the issues that we discussed today. Today we agreed on the basic principles in connection with the determination and nomination of candidates for president and vice president of the republic, and the prime minister and deputy prime minister. As Mr. Silajdzic said, in about seven days we will hold another session at the same level, when, I am certain, we will reach complete agreement. Then we will nominate the candidates, and the assembly session will be scheduled for the period of 28-30 April. I believe that the assembly [words indistinct] and we will confirm [words indistinct].

[Cumurovic] Dr. Haris Silajdzic explained the results of today's talks with the following words:

[Silajdzic] Our listeners and viewers will probably be interested in what we agreed on for the interim period in order to find an urgent solution to the problems of everyday life. We (?agreed on the opening) of the entire energy system of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the repair of all the transmission systems; therefore, on [words indistinct] Rama, turning on the hydroelectric power station (?Globovica), on the delivery of all the necessary materials for the full functioning of the thermal power stations Kakanj and Tuzla. We discussed the problem of the return of refugees, and we agreed, of course, on how to enable people to return to their last abode of residence. That is of course the view held before, only now it has been confirmed.

We are talking here about issues that have been covered before at the meetings of the commissions, and at today's meeting all this was confirmed. Priority should be given to the reconstruction of destroyed railroad bridges—we believe that is the priority on the Neretva River—and the repair of the railroad line from Stolac toward the west. The construction of a bridge across the Sava River between Orasje and Zupanja has to be taken most seriously. The telephone lines from the south to Sarajevo have to be established, and thus the shattered communications system reestablished. Telephone lines have to

be reintroduced to the left bank of Mostar, and the entire left bank of Mostar has to be supplied with water, including the reintroduction of the Studenac spring into the system. At least two megawatts of electricity have to be allowed into that part of the city. There is the question of coordinating the entire humanitarian system, and placing that system in the hands [words indistinct].

[Cumurovic] The talks between the two delegations led by Dr. Haris Silajdzic and Kresimir Zubak were attended by Victor Jakovich, U.S. ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Zdravko Pancevic, Croatian ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

After making his statement on the results of today's meeting, Dr. Silajdzic answered several questions asked by foreign reporters about the fierce chetnik attacks on civilians and members of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR].

Addressing that issue, he said that he was astonished at the enormity of the evil happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina, without getting any real reaction from the international community. He stressed that the people who destroyed Bosnia-Herzegovina, people who murdered 200,000 citizens, people who were attacking safe havens and UNPROFOR are still referred to as a side in the conflict. He wondered what else they would have to do to trigger any real action. And we would like to cite the following part of Silajdzic's statement:

I would like to send a message to those Serbs on the occupied territories who might be deceived into joining Karadzic. They can now see the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims living and working together in a normal democratic state. If they want to join us, they are welcome.

Agreements Reported

LD1504121094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] High-ranking Croat and Muslim political representatives agreed yesterday in Sarajevo on the release of prisoners and on a number of political issues related to the functioning of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, the Herzeg-Bosna delegation said on their return from Sarajevo. Zdenko Vranjes reports from Mostar:

[Vranjes] The negotiations in Sarajevo were held in a good atmosphere. It was agreed who can represent the Croat and Muslim people at the federation level until new elections are held. It was also agreed that legal preparations should commence to form a government of the federation. It has still not been agreed whether the person holding the post of president of the federation until the elections should be a Croat or a Bosniak, nor what nationality the deputy president and the prime minister should be. This decision is to be made by the constituent assembly, which is expected to hold a session at the end of this month.

Before that high-ranking representatives of the two peoples will meet again and discuss the remaining issues.

Muslims, Croats Sign Prisoner Exchange Accord

LD1504074194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] An agreement on the release of prisoners from prisons under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croat Defense Council has been signed.

Those charged with or sentenced for the most serious criminal offenses will not be released if the signatories show the Red Cross by Sunday that charges have been pressed or sentences passed. An international committee of experts is to be founded to interview those accused of the most serious criminal acts within 30 days and examine all evidence relevant to the criminal procedures. After that the committee will make decisions on the further detention of the accused. The agreement says that the Red Cross will determine the dynamics and mode of implementation of the prisoner release.

SDA Wants Izetbegovic for Federation President

AU1204163694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] The members of the regional committees of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] for central Bosnia, deputies in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, and the members of the executive and main committee of the SDA [words indistinct] at a meeting held in Travnik on 8 April have extended unequivocal support to the proposal that Mr. Alija Izetbegovic should be a candidate for the presidency of the future federal community.

The said proposal and the proposal that Mr. Alija Izetbegovic—for moral and political reasons that are clear to all the members and supporters of our party—should be given the first presidential mandate in the future federation, are fully supported by the party members who hold functions in the municipal and regional bodies of legal authority in the region of Zenica and Travnik.

U.S. Said 'Lost in the Maze' of Balkan Policy

LD1504113294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1103 GMT 15 Apr 94

[By Borislav Lalic]

[Text] Belgrade, April 15 (TANJUG)—A U.S. journalist recently advised President Bill Clinton that, if he is uncertain about the effects on the United States of the bombing of Gorazde, he should meet with the Vietnam veterans or, better still, with the American soldiers who recently returned from Somalia after the failure of operation Provide Hope.

It is highly unlikely that Clinton will take this advise although the developments in the war-ravaged ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have reached a critical point.

Everything happening there in the past few weeks is linked to the United States. In Bosnia an "American peace" is being negotiated, U.S. bombs are being dropped and the American war diplomacy has claimed its first victims.

In Bosnia Washington has become lost in the maze of its own Balkan policy which it is trying to implement in keeping with the principles of its own new international order.

Over the past couple of years the Americans changed their stands on the Yugoslav crisis so many times that now it is hard to say exactly what they want in Bosnia and how they envisage the "new Balkans."

Clinton's operation for imposing a peace in Bosnia which is being separately carried out with the Moslems and Croats, faces a total defeat. The Gorazde bombs have not only failed to return the Serbs to the negotiating table, but have rendered this almost impossible.

Everyone is now asking only one question: What will be Washington's next move. The answer will depend on whether and to what extent Clinton is aware that the U.S. involvement in the Bosnian war could well cause its escalation from the Balkans. The U.S. President could also apply the already present views in Washington that the several bombs dropped on Gorazde were insufficient and that new air strikes are required.

The Europeans hope that the U.S. leaders will finally become aware that they have been licked in Bosnia and that the situation there is so serious and complex that it cannot be resolved by a few bombs, even on condition that they hit the designated targets and are not duds.

A positive sign that such a more realistic policy could prevail is the sudden appearence in Bosnia of the co-chairmen of the international conference on ex-Yugoslavia, Lord David Owen and Thorwald Stoltenberg.

This could mean that Washington has come to the conclusion that it will have to ask its European allies to help it pull the chesnuts out of the Bosnian fire.

The Europeans have much experience in this because they have also been too hasty and were defeated in Bosnia. In 1993 they finally concluded that there is only one solution: to divide the three warring sides in Bosnia in the same way as the disintegration of their former country—Yugoslavia.

Serbia's Future Under Milosevic Questioned

AU1404210294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] (?Astounded) by the increasingly ruthless chetnik advances on the protected zone and despite serious warnings by NATO, foreign analysts concluded almost without exception that the aggressor army around Gorazde was doing everything possible to provoke air strikes. They explained this with the stubbornness of the Pale leadership, ignoring the fact that they are only pawns in a big game. This time, too, all strings were in the hands of Belgrade.

Milosevic's regime has placed Serbia in the most difficult situation in its long history. The process of turning a country fascist is drawing to an end. The last foreign witnesses, objective correspondents from CNN and AFP, are being removed. Others are also being checked out, if they are there at all.

The regime has given up its efforts to improve its image in the eyes of the world public. Who could possibly get involved in that when everything else is going downhill. Objective reporting by foreign media has been declared, we quote, a media war against the Serbian people, end quote. Not against the regime, as it is, but against the people—something foreign correspondents never insisted on. Serbia has simply found herself in the same situation that Germany was during the Nazi era, Russia during Stalinism, Albania during the time of Enver Hoxha, and Chile during the time of Pinochet, with, of course, much worse internal problems.

The project of a greater Serbia, the greatest inspiration for Serbian fascism, has definitely failed, mainly because of a number of military defeats in Bosnia. There are even more troubles in their own home. A new wave of hyperinflation is on its way. This wave will finally destroy the last strongholds of the Serbian economy. The embezzlement of foreign currency from its own citizens is also drawing to an end. It is no longer possible to explain to the people who sold their foreign currency to the banks that these were automatically bought by some new rich men for the freshly printed super dinars, which will soon be completely worthless.

To stay in power and divert the people's attention from the insoluble problems, Milosevic had to invent new enemies, much bigger and more dangerous than the previous ones. And who is more suitable at present than the biggest world power, the United States? Belgrade propaganda therefore produced a new puppet show in the public in the sense of (?evil) Americans, persuaded by evil Muslims, treacherously attacked the innocent Serbian people. Of course, they consciously concealed the fact that the action by the United Nations enjoyed the general support of the world and that the Russians complained only because they were not consulted. Vitaliy Churkin was angry because Karadzic's Serbs deceived him and denied their attacks on Gorazde. Moreover, they never mentioned the reasons for the attacks by the allied aircraft. They did not dare say that because of the committed chetnik crimes the world could allow hordes of bloodsuckers enter this suffering town and repeat what they had already done in Zvornik, Visegrad, and Foca.

RSK: Croat Proposal 'Hardly Acceptable'

LD1404214494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1929 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—The government of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] has described the Croatian side's proposal regarding future talks on economic relations and traffic links as "hardly acceptable at this point".

According to ISKRA [Krajina Serb news agency], the government has prepared its platform—which will be presented to the assembly committees—based on the modified Article 20 of UN Security Council Resolution 820, which envisages export and import of goods from and into the RSK under the control of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] civilian services.

The possibility of providing water supplies for Zadar is envisaged as a gesture of good will, in exchange for parts for the hydroelectric dam in Obrovac. After that, other problems—particularly traffic problems—would be addressed.

With regard to the assembly's decision that the government—which is currently being reappointed—should not hold talks with the Croatian side, the government has decided to accept this decision, noting that, if necessary, it will send a delegation only with a written order from the president of the RSK and the president of the assembly.

Manolic Refuses To Convene Assembly Session

LD1404211694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Josip Manolic, president of the Croatian Assembly's Chamber of Counties, has refused to convene a session of the Chamber in eight days' time, Chamber of Counties Secretary Anton Rajcevac told journalists today.

At the proposal of some Croatian Democratic Union deputies to convene a session, Manolic, referring to the standing orders, said he did not consider that the reasons to convene a session of the Chamber of Counties in eight days' time were justified and that he would convene it when he found it necessary for this assembly chamber to perform its constitutional obligations.

Federal

TANJUG Cites Clinton Comments on Strikes

LD1404132894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1301 GMT 14 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Washington, April 14 (TANJUG)—U.S. President Bill Clinton has written to leaders of Congress that the United States is prepared to respond to U.N. and NATO calls for action against Bosnian Serbs in the future as well.

Reporting on U.S.-spearheaded NATO raids on Bosnian Serb positions around the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Gorazde on Sunday and Monday, Clinton said that the operation had been aimed at protecting international peacekeepers deployed in Bosnia's "safe areas".

Gorazde, as a U.N.-designated "safe area," should have been demilitarized last spring, but has instead been used by the Moslems, who have concentrated 10,000 troops there, to launch a powerful offensive against the Serbs.

When a Serb counter-offensive threatened to crush the Moslem onslaught, NATO fighter jets were called in to raid Bosnian Serb positions, openly taking the side of the Moslems.

"It is not now possible to determine the duration of this operation," Clinton said, in what U.S. observers regard as being meant to prepare congress and the public for a wider U.S. action on the side of the Moslems in Bosnia.

Meanwhile, Bosnian Moslem Vice-President Ejup Ganic has arrived on a three-day visit to Washington, to put renewed pressure on the U.S. Administration to supply military equipment and exempt the Moslems from an arms sales embargo which is in force against all of former Yugoslavia.

Moslem ambassador to the United Nations Muhamed Sacirbej said on Wednesday that the Moslems would not agree to the ceasefire offered by the Serbs on the weekend unless the Serbs around Gorazde withdrew to the lines they held on March 30.

Sacirbej refuted the statement by U.N. commander in Bosnia- Herzegovina General Sir Michael Rose that the Moslems on Tuesday attacked Bosnian Serb positions at Gorazde unprovoked, although the statement has been confirmed by ranking U.N. officials.

In a plucky effort at deceit, Sacirbej said that under U.N. Security Council Resolution 836, Moslems have the right to defend the "safe areas" at arms.

However, the Moslem action is hardly consistent with the claim of defence, since they have launched another infantry attack from Gorazde on Serb positions, supported by the artillery situated in Gorazde town proper.

Ministry Lodges 'Sharp Protest' With Italy

LD1404164394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—Ambassador Branko Brankovic summoned Italian Charge d'Affaires Laura Mirachian to the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs today and lodged the Yugoslav Government's note of sharp protest over the use of Italian airports for NATO military actions against the Serb people in the Srpska republic.

According to the ministry's statement, Ambassador Brankovic stressed that Italy had thereby taken on itself responsibility for the risk of escalation of the war with unforeseeable consequences. NATO military operations on the very border of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] are a provocation against the FRY, a threat against its security, and pose a serious threat to peace and stability in the region. Taking part in a NATO military action, even under UN auspices, is contrary to the CSCE principles on the peaceful resolution of disputes, the observance of which—as the CSCE chair country—Italy should particularly advocate.

Such actions by Italy are contrary to the efforts to achieve a just and lasting solution to the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and contradict principles of good-neighborliness and traditional cooperation between friendly countries and peoples.

The FRY Government—interested in preservation of peace and security in the region, in the fate of the Serbs, and in finding a peaceful and just solution for the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina—expects the Italian Government to prevent any further use of its territory for armed actions against the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ambassador to UN on Responsibility for Gorazde

LD1504004794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2351 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] New York, April 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Dragomir Djokic on Thursday warned U.N. Security Council President Colin Keating that a tolerant stand of the U.N. towards Bosnian Moslems leads to an esclation of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that the world organization should be directly engaged in finding a peaceful solution to that the crisis in that former Yugoslav republic.

It is important to do everything possible for the Moslems to stop attacking and that the peace process is restored, Djokic said.

Djokic was received by Keating at his own request, since he wanted to inform the Security Council president about Yugoslavia's stands regarding the latest developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Djokic said that the Security Council should not have reacted so mildly to the Moslem attacks around Gorazde and elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina and protested because it was tolerated that Moslem use U.N. Protected Areas to launch attacks on Serb positions, which was confirmed also by senior U.N. officials, including U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali himself.

The Security Council, in the interest of its credibility, should take a strong stand towards all sides, and not constantly accuse one side and condone actions by another, Djokic said.

Keating said that the Security Council was aware of the behavior but that the Serb response to the Moslem of the Moslem side hvvut that the Serb [words indistinct]. Provocations have been too strong [passage indistinct] Djokic said.

The Security Council authorized the bombing of Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde by NATO planes on Sunday and Monday, although Keating himself said earlier that the fighting around that Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina had been provoked by the Moslems.

Gorazde, one of six U.N. Protected Areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, should have been demilitarized last spring, but the latest Moslem offensive was launched from this town.

Deputy Prime Minister Protests Bombings

LD1204203994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 12 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic on Tuesday said that U.N.-sponsored air strikes against Bosnian Serbs and the biased view of the Bosnian civil war must stop. Otherwise, the international community would be directly responsible for an escalation of the conflict with unforeseeable consequences for the entire region.

U.S. NATO aircraft on April 10 and 11 raided Bosnian Serb army positions around Gorazde, a U.N.-protected "safe haven" which should have been demilitarized last spring.

In late March, about 10,000 Moslem troops from Gorazde mounted an offensive on Bosnian Serb positions surrounding the area. The NATO aircraft intervened when the Serbs crushed the offensive and launched a counter-attack.

Simic told TANJUG that the Yugoslav Government had most categorically condemned the U.N. decision to engage NATO aircraft as a direct and open engagemement in the civil war in Bosnia- Herzegovina on the side of the Moslems.

The Yugoslav Government remains consistent in its long-term foreign-policy orientation that all hostilities must unconditionally cease in Bosnia-Herzegovina before overall solutions are found, Simic said.

He went on to say that solutions which should not dramatically clash with the real situation and the democratic principles by which the international community should be guided can be sought only on the basis of lasting peace and easing of the malignant tensions in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Unfortunately, these principles have long been abandoned and grossly abused in the Yugoslav crisis and replaced by an open imperialistic policy on the international political scene which the U.N. obeys and duly implements although by its very nature it should oppose it, Simic said.

The U.N. decision to bomb Serb territories, which was also highly controversial as far as the required procedure was concerned, shows that the contemporary world has gone too far in belittling the values without which peace cannot be even imagined, he said.

The key international factors should sober up and abandon their arbitrary, aggressive and reckless actions, and pursue instead a realistic policy of negotiations on an equal footing as the only way to the ultimate goal—peace and a lasting, just settlement acceptable to all in Bosnia, he said.

In this, the international community can always rely on Yugoslavia's peaceful policy of active mediation, said Simic.

Paradoxically, the future of the peace process in former Yugoslavia depends on whether political developments are really heading in the direction of peace. If the international community is really interested in peace, then the means to attain this goal should be corresponding, he explained.

Force which only prolongs the war and continues the bloodshed cannot be justified by aspirations for peace, said Simic.

It is utterly cynical when some diplomats say they hope the Serbs would join the peace process in the future, because the Serb side has always supported negotiations as the only way out of the crisis, he said.

The Serb side had accepted the latest Bosnia peace plan of the European Union which, following the Moslem rejection of it, simply forgot it had made any proposal at all, discrediting itself as an international factor which could have helped find a favourable solution to the crisis and the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said.

Yugoslavia remains consistent in its position that the peace process should be based on negotiations in which all sides would participate on an equal footing, said Simic.

Army Chief on 'Consequences' of NATO Strikes

LD1404161794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—In connection with the NATO air strikes against Serb targets around Gorazde, Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army, has stated that "such NATO air force action can undeniably have unforeseeable consequences for peace in the Balkans and Europe."

In an interview to be published in the POLITIKA daily tomorrow, Gen. Perisic said that "in the case of further air strikes against Serb territories, there is a danger of an escalation of the war to an uncontrollable degree."

He said that "the NATO air strikes against Serb territories around Gorazde complicated the military and political situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina", and that this action "encouraged the supporters of the war option and worried those who carry peace in their hearts."

"I particularly wish to stress that this is an act of aggression against the Serb people, who have a legitimate and natural right to self-defense guaranteed by the UN Charter."

The Yugoslav Army chief of staff stressed that "the Yugoslav Army has continuously and attentively been following developments after the NATO air strikes", and that it has been taking "all necessary measures for the protection of the territorial integrity of our country."

"In the case of a possible violation of the air space of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the army will take actions in accordance with the rules of its combat operations," Gen. Perisic said.

Jovanovic Leaves for Working Visit to Athens

LD1404141194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic left Belgrade today on a working visit to Greece at the invitation of Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias.

The Federal Ministry for Foreign Relations announced that in talks with the foreign minister and other Greek officials, Minister Jovanovic will examine the resolution of the crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia, the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the continuation of the peace process, and the main issues of bilateral relations.

Deputies Want Information Minister Dismissed

LD1404165494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—A group of 17 opposition deputies to the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens today called on Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic to dismiss Information Minister Slobodan Ignjatovic in connection with the withdrawal of accreditation from AFP and CNN.

The signatories of this initiative are from the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Democratic Party [of Serbia], the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, and the People's Party of Montenegro. They maintain that the ban on AFP and CNN causes inestimable damage to the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and its citizens, and ask that this decision be revoked.

Explaining their proposal, the deputies say that the FRY is in this way coming into direct confrontation with the most powerful information media and indirectly with the United States and France.

Serbia

Milosevic Meets With Karadzic

LD1404174694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic today received president of the Srpska republic Radovan Karadzic. They discussed the latest situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, including the attempts by international mediators and envoys to normalize the situation.

After the meeting, Karadzic said, in a brief statement to correspondents, that the international community is now most concerned by our break of relations with the United Nations. "We will see whether our supreme command will make any changes to that decision tomorrow," Karadzic added.

The Srpska republic president confirmed that tomorrow he will meet with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, and that he will inform him about the supreme command's position, which determines whether there will be any contacts with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] civilian section.

Karadzic also commented on the latest situation on the Bosnian front. According to him, the first day of good weather, which had enabled U.S. NATO planes to fly "was used by the Muslim forces to try to chase us away from the right bank of the Drina River. They launched a new offensive from the left bank, accross the bridges, against our forces. They probably expected support from U.S. planes," he added. As far as Doboj is concerned it was permanently shelled, and there are losses among civilians, Karadzic commented.

The Muslim offensive is now under way practically on all fronts—near Kupres, Srbobran, and Teslic. The strongest is from Teocak and Zvornik, via Kladanj and Olovo, to Ilijas. It is an entirely Muslim offensive, Karadzic stressed. They pulled out about 20,000 soldiers from Sarajevo. They were under an obligation to keep these

soldiers in Sarajevo, but they pulled them out and deployed them on other fronts.

As for Tuzla Airport, cargo planes have been landing there and delivering military equipment for days. "We warned them that the airport was not open and that it would be opened exclusively on the basis of our agreement with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, envoy Vitaliy Churkin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev," Karadzic said.

Before this is agreed, the airport must not be used for military purposes, but it must not be abused even after it is opened. The airport can be used exclusively for humanitarian purposes, the Srpska republic president stressed. "Two cargo planes were preparing to land at Tuzla Airport today and we warned them not to. I think this is better than shooting them down."

Dwelling on the latest Russian proposals, conveyed to President Milosevic and the Bosnian Serbs by Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin, Karadzic confirmed that these proposals did exist and that they could help bring about an overall peace, but not a political solution at the same time. Only complete peace could possibly lead to the speedy attainment of a political solution. We will examine these proposals and we will see, Karadzic said.

He urged a full cessation of hostilities throughout the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, stressing that he is against "a partial cease-fire," because, as he said, "if they are attacking us in Olovo we will attack them in all other areas." "We have the right to conduct a defense and a counteroffensive in all areas."

"We believe that an agreement on the cessation of hostilities ought to be concluded, but it should be understood that the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are an act of hostility, and if the hostilities cease, then the sanctions should also be abolished," Karadzic concluded.

Karadzic Holds News Conference

AU1404192694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Report on a news conference by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic with unidentified correspondents in Belgrade on 14 April—recorded]

[Text] Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this afternoon held talks with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic. Slobodan Milosevic is expected to hold talks with Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the Geneva conference, this evening. In the meantime, President Karadzic held a news conference [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] What did you talk about with Mr. Milosevic?

[Karadzic] We discussed the newly created situation, the crisis, and so forth, and, of course, our usual issues.

[Correspondent] Are there any signs of progress (?concerning) this proposal.

[Karadzic] We will see. It appears that the international community is currently most aggravated with us breaking off relations with the UN. We will see whether our supreme command will change something in this respect tomorrow.

[Correspondent] Lord Owen stated that you have accepted in principle to meet Mr. Akashi, which means the civil sector, in order to maintain contacts.

[Karadzic] Not to maintain contacts. We agreed to meet Mr. Akashi tomorrow and to tell him what the stand of our supreme command is. Whether there will be any contacts with the civil sector will depend on the stand of the supreme command.

[Correspondent] In view of agency reports on the situation around Tuzla and Doboj, can you tell us briefly what is happening there.

[Karadzic] First of all, I will tell you what is happening around Gorazde. The first nice day that facilitated the flights of NATO U.S. planes was used by the Muslim forces to try to drive us from the right bank of the Drina. They launched an offensive. They set off in large numbers at our positions and our forces from the left bank, over the bridges, probably expecting to receive the support of U.S. aircraft.

Regarding Doboj, the town is constantly being shelled and we are having civilian casualties all the time. Fortunately, most of the casualties are wounded and not dead. Finally, we have an offensive on almost all the fronts, near Kupres, Srbobran, that is formerly Gornji Vakuf [name as heard: Donji Vakuf is what the Serbs call Srbobran], and Teslic. The fiercest offensive is between Teocak and Zvornik, via Kladanj and Olovo all the way to Ilijas. In other words, this is an all-out offensive.

They pulled out about 20,000 troops from Sarajevo because there is peace in Sarajevo now. They were obliged to keep these troops in Sarajevo, but they pulled them out and deployed them on other fronts.

Regarding Tuzla, transport planes have been landing there for days and they are bringing military materiel. We warned them. The airport is not open. It will be open only in accordance with our agreement with President Yeltsin and his special envoy Churkin, and finally with Mr. Kozyrev. Before that, the airport must not be misused for military purposes. It must not be misused after the opening either. It should be opened for humanitarian purposes only.

Two transport planes were preparing to land today. We warned them not to land. We thought it better to warn them than to shoot them down.

[Correspondent] Mr. Karadzic, just one more question. Mr. Churkin today stated that he had conveyed to you some proposals regarding the global settlement of the

crisis and that he expected an answer from you. Can you tell us something about that.

[Karadzic] There are some proposals, there are some proposals that could even lead to total peace. Not immediately, of course, to the political solution, but total peace could perhaps facilitate a speedy political solution. We will examine these proposals and see what can....

[Correspondent] Are the cease-fire and the end to hostilities possible at all on the entire territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and not, as you said, only in some parts? Is this possible?

[Karadzic] A partial cease-fire is impossible. The cease-fire on the entire territory would be desirable and possible. It cannot be done partially, because if they attack us in Olovo we will attack all their other positions. In other words, we have the right to defend ourselves and to launch counteroffensives on all points.

Regarding the halting of hostilities, we take the view that we should reach an agreement on that. Of course, one must understand that the sanctions on Yugoslavia are an act of aggression and that if the hostilities are to be halted, then the sanctions should also be lifted.

SRS: No Retaliation on Italy 'for Time Being'

LD1404173094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—Serbian Radical Party [SRS] Chairman Vojislav Seselj said today that military effects of the NATO air strikes were "completely insignificant" and that they only caused civilian casualties. [passage omitted]

Seselj added that there were 180 Muslim casualties in the air strikes. "Nobody has won a war using air strikes. If the war continues the Muslims will be completely defeated and will be left without anything," he said.

The radical leader said that the SRS decided that for the time being "there will be no retaliation against Italy," although NATO aircraft took off from air bases in that country. He explained it by the fact that the Italian Government has not yet been formed.

Seselj welcomed Silvio Berlusconi's election victory and said that it was an old wish of the radicals that the two countries have a joint border in the western part of the Balkans.

He expects that Berlusconi, "as an Italian patriot," will not sacrifice the interests of his country, but will oppose the use of Italian territory for NATO aircraft take-offs.

The leader of the Radicals explained that the SRS deputies had walked out of the Yugoslav Assembly's session out of protest that a parliamentary discussion would not be held about the text of a declaration on the bombing of the Serb positions near Gorazde.

He believes that it was the Serbian president who did not want the session to be held, for it would prove, according to Seselj, that "Slobodan Milosevic was most to blame for the bombing—he was yielding more and more as the Western powers were setting increasingly unscrupulous demands."

As regards the withdrawing of CNN and AFP correspondents' accreditations, Seselj said he wondered why this had not been done earlier.

Owen: NATO Actions Against Serbs Justified

LD1404194294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—David Owen, cochairman of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, told journalists this evening before his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that NATO air attacks near Gorazde were justified, basing his explanation on UN Security Council resolutions.

He categorically rejected claims that the United Nations had placed itself on the side of the Muslims, stressing that it was now most important to restore the peace process and resume dialogue between the sides in the conflict.

Milosevic Meets With Owen, Stoltenberg

LD1404193294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Thorvald Stoltenberg and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, this evening.

The Serbian president and the Geneva conference cochairmen exchanged views on the latest situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and other important issues related to a political resolution of the crisis. They particularly focused on initiatives and ideas linked to ending the armed confrontations and creating conditions to restore the negotiating process.

The Serbian president believes that an end to all hostilities in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina should be achieved, which means, first of all, that the Muslim forces should give up any further military provocation. The responsibility for their behavior rests to the greatest extent with the international community, which has not only tolerated but—by undertaking air attacks against the Serbs—also openly encouraged the Bosnian Muslim leadership to continue the war.

The success of the peace process depends directly on abandoning discriminatory practices and on returning to the international community's principles of impartiality and objectivity, Milosevic stressed in his talks with Stoltenberg and Owen.

Churkin Comments on Talks With Milosevic

LD1404193994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1834 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Russian Special Envoy Vitaliy Churkin this evening for the third time in the last 24 hours.

Commenting on the three rounds of talks with Milosevic, which altogether lasted about five hours, Churkin told journalists he was satisfied with the talks, that they were constructive, and had focused mostly on the cessation of hostilities in the whole of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"I can say now, after the third round, that what I have in my hands now is a good basis for achieving an agreement on the cessation of hostilities in the whole of former Bosnia-Herzegovina," Churkin stressed.

The Russian envoy told journalists he was leaving for Pale and Sarajevo early tomorrow morning and that he would work very intensively on the realization of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"My main objective is to end the current very difficult situation and to proceed toward the political resolution of the Bosnian crisis," Churkin said.

He refused to give any more details regarding the talks with President Milosevic, but expressed hope that the other (Muslim) side would show as constructive an approach as the Serb side. "In any case, I am awaiting the talks in Sarajevo tomorrow with hope," Churkin added.

Asked whether he was now, after the third round of talks with Milosevic, more optimistic then before the talks, he said: "I think we have done a good job and, with a bit of luck, we could change the situation in Bosnia."

Another Meeting Expected

LD1404155494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1355 GMT 14 Apr 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr—Vitaliy Churkin, Russian Federation president's special envoy, again met Serb President Slobodan Milosevic today. They discussed the situation in Bosnia and Russia's new proposals on overcoming the current Bosnian crisis caused by NATO airstrikes against Bosnian positions near Gorazde.

In a brief statement to the press after the meeting, the Russian deputy foreign minister refrained from revealing the content of these proposals. They relate to halting hostilities and restoring normal life in Bosnia, which is a prerequisite for a political solution to the Bosnian crisis, he said.

As an ITAR-TASS correspondent learned from well-informed sources, a joint meeting of the Serb president, Bosnian Serb leadership, and the Russian Federation president's special envoy can be expected in the near future to discuss Russia's new proposals and determine the Serb side's relevant position.

Draskovic Attacks Milosevic, Other Leaders

AU1104170394 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 94 pp 16-18

[Interview with Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) leader Vuk Draskovic by Petar Ignja; place and date not given: "Obscurity of National Unity"]

[Text] People vote for politicians similar to themselves. The relative political success of Vuk Draskovic can also be viewed in this way because many people think that his sometimes lyrical and romantic, sometimes epic and rhetorical speeches are not welcome in politics, which requires more reality (although it seems that surrealistic politics are the most successful in Serbia).

What would the political world look like if we were always realistic, deprived of certain natural colors? Perhaps like a feast in the form of a pill, which might contain everything, but is tasteless.

Those who have never heard of the good man from Mancha [Don Quixote]—who got himself into trouble when he decided to give up his quiet life and became a wandering knight—speak and write about Vuk Draskovic without much understanding.

[Ignja] Will all this struggle of yours pay? Do you think that you are sometimes tilting at windmills, like the famous wandering knight?

[Draskovic] The most profitable thing for me would be not to get involved but write my books; however, I do not think that I have the right to be so selfish. There is no more important aim than to remove the present leadership—to save the people and the state. It is a difficult and unpleasant task, however. Sometimes it seems a vain job, but we must be persistent.

[Ignja] Some time after the election it seemed that the opposition had a chance, since the Socialist Party—the former Communists—did not have a majority in parliament. It came to a breakup within the opposition, however. Were you surprised?

[Draskovic] I would not be sincere if I said that I had been surprised. In last year's election campaign I warned opposition supporters that their votes for change could be used against it. I told them that there was no risk only if they voted for DEPOS, or for the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement].

[Ignja] Do you want to say that many people fell into a trap? Who set it?

[Draskovic] It was noticed that one of the opposition parties opposed everybody and everything, even itself. It did not only oppose hatred and war, but the spiritual and mental emptiness.

Another opposition party built its image on hidden and half- public "dates" with the Socialist Party, but since its love was not returned, it was offended and expressed its feelings by offering to flirt with Pale.

A third opposition party has not even had a political strategy of its own; it plays the role of Karadzic's political representative in Serbia. This party is practically the bureau of the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Belgrade.

[Ignja] Do you want to say that these three opposition parties cheated the people who voted for them?

[Draskovic] People who voted for them wasted their ballots. The SPO remained the only consistent democratic power of resistance and hope. It must be admitted, however, that we also had our Kalabic [World War II Chetnik chieftain], which is the only thing that surprised me. Mihajlovic's behavior is unbelievable; it cannot be excused....

[Ignja] Yes, I know, but you have forgotten to say which three opposition parties you are referring to?

[Draskovic] If they cannot be recognized based on what I said, it is superfluous to mention their names. I am not against naming these parties; I just oppose their political activities.

[Ignja] I think that the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] is a real opposition party but that it will not meddle with the ruling party.

[Draskovic] Perhaps not with it, but there is a ruling party on Mount Jahorina [location of Bosnian Serb assembly], too. This is the leadership that has disgraced us in front of the world. For this reason it is opposed by the SPO, but the DSS approves of it! God forbid that Pale gets the chance to annex Belgrade and Serbia! According to them, and according to their representatives in Serbia, their center is neither Belgrade nor Topola nor Takovo, but Jahorina.

[Ignja] Why is your party so closely linked to the New Democracy party?

[Draskovic] New Democracy is one of the founders of DEPOS. This party obtained four seats in the 1992 election: three in the Serbian Assembly, and one in the federal parliament. I have to say that there have been no problems whatsoever between the SPO and the New Democracy parliamentary members. If you are not acquainted with parliamentary issues, you cannot tell which DEPOS representatives come from the SPO and which from the New Democracy party. The behavior of this party eased the pain inflicted on DEPOS by Kostunica after he obtained 20 seats in parliament. It was the behavior of this party that made the SPO hope that its efforts to unite all the democratic and opposition powers under one umbrella—in the DEPOS—are not all in vain.

[Ignja] The DEPOS umbrella, however, began to leak during the first rain—to the delight of the Socialist Party. Is all this a coincidence?

[Draskovic] There are rumors that Mihajlovic attended a special course, where he was prepared for betraying and breaking up DEPOS. This is not true. He was blackmailed. He owns a private company, and the New Democracy party is nothing but a chain of several dozen large and small private companies. People earned big money by investing little or no money at all, and when they were faced with the choice of either retaining their companies (which meant coalition with the Socialist Party and joint government with them), or to stay loyal to the SPO (which would have meant the liquidation of their companies and probably a series of arrests), they chose the first option.

[Ignja] These are perhaps only assumptions, unfounded suspicions?

[Draskovic] Already in January 1994, the Socialist Party leaders proved to Mihajlovic that their threats were serious. In Bor....

[Ignja] As soon as Bor is mentioned, one must immediately think of Tomidza, Sainovic, and Sokolovic junior.

[Draskovic] ...One of the New Democracy leaders, Bosko Nicic, was arrested in Bor. He, too, had a private company. He was arrested although he was not guilty, and there were no reasons for his detention, but the aim was to give an example to the big boss of what would happen if he did not give in. He gave in and Nicic was released from prison on bail. New Democracy allegedly proposed him as Sokolovic's deputy.

[Ignja] The party of private entrepreneurs wants to have its man in the police leadership. Purely grotesque!

[Draskovic] The most important thing in all police states is to be in the good graces of the police and its boss.

[Ignja] You wanted to form a government of national unity and salvation. You have not succeeded in forming a government of national unity, but you have achieved a government of salvation—people are entering it in order to save their heads.

[Draskovic] If you are good and obedient, you can have every position. If your are not, you can end up in prison, although you are innocent. You and your family can even be murdered, and your company destroyed. Sicilian laws are effective here, but they cannot make the political disgrace and betrayal committed by New Democracy appear less tragic. There are businessmen in the SPO, too. Many of our members have been confronted with serious threats for four years, but none of them has responded to any of these threats yet. Nobody has given in.

[Ignja] You wanted to enter the government of national unity yourself. Are not you trying to convince yourself now that the grapes are sour?

[Draskovic] The idea of national unity and of a government of national unity was born in the SPO in 1990. We especially insisted on it in the spring of 1991, after the demonstrations on 9 March, 1991. During my first encounter with Milosevic I reminded him of that idea and told him that he was late in accepting our idea. I insisted on a consistent implementation of this idea.

[Ignja] This means....

[Draskovic] Nothing else than that the chief of state has to respect the will of his people. Milosevic told me on that occasion: "Naturally, the opposition will get 12 out of 25 ministerial positions, but it cannot count on the positions of the prime minister or minister of internal affairs." The president was very generous in offering seven to eight ministerial posts to the SPO.

[Ignja] The public was not informed about the details of this agreement. Can you tell us more about it now that a lot of water has gone under the bridge?

[Draskovic] Yes, I can. I told Milosevic that the opposition should have a majority in the government, since it won a majority in the elections, in terms of both the number of votes and the number of seats in the Assembly. I added that the offer to participate in the government of national unity had to be submitted to all parliamentary parties. The president frowned and said that there was no place for fascism and primitivism in the government of national unity; he probably meant Seselj's party.

"It was your party which promoted this fascism and primitivism; the SPO has had a very critical attitude toward it since its very beginning," I said. "This is not true," Milosevic answered, adding that they had only supported certain patriotic actions organized by the Radical Party, but that they had never been willing to give Seselj's party any ministerial position, although he had often asked for this.

[Ignja] You have to admit, though, that they did not attack the Radical Party until Seselj started destroying their government, at the beginning of last autumn.

[Draskovic] Yes, this is true. I went on to point out that 600,000 people voted for the Radical Party, a political fact that cannot be ignored. These voters have to be as respected as those who voted for the Democratic Party of Serbia, but this party did not want to participate in negotiations about the government of national unity. Milosevic was happy to be able to say that he invited Kostunica, who, however, refused to come. He also added that the Radical Party was invited, too....

[Ignja] He invited Tomo Nikolic, not Seselj.

[Draskovic] This does not matter—the Radical Party refused the invitation. To cut a long story short, I insisted on an opposition majority in the government. I also wanted all parliamentary parties to be represented in the government and a SPO member to become the chairman of the federal parliament, but the Serbian president did not accept any of these proposals.

[Ignja] Can you repeat his words?

[Draskovic] He was astonished that I refused seven ministerial positions.

[Ignja] I am not sure, but it seems to me that the minister of internal affairs is nowhere as respected as in Serbia.

[Draskovic] In police states the minister of the police is the whole government. In the negotiations of which I have just spoken Milosevic did not even mention the possibility that the Communist Party, a minor party led by his wife that did not get a single seat in parliament, could be represented in the government. There followed talks with Mr. Minic and Mr. Zoran Andjelkovic, and they did not mention this possibility, either. It is clear to me now that Milosevic and these gentlemen were very skillful in hiding their strategy from me. The story about the government of national unity was only one of their false methods to bring communists into the government. Formally speaking, four of them are communists, but in fact all 30 of them are. This means that the Communist Party is the ruling party, since the Socialist Party of Serbia is the disguised branch office of the communists.

[Ignja] Mira Markovic, the Communist Party leader, recently proposed that political parties should not be active during this crisis period.

[Draskovic] I have addressed this issue in parliament. The aim of this proposal is clear. Under the pretext of national unity all political parties should be abolished, except for the Communist Party, which means that we would return to the one-party system.

[Ignja] This sounds absurd.

[Draskovic] They see politics as the theater of the absurd! The strategists of this evil intent are not interested in the price that Serbia will pay for it. The embargo was primarily introduced because of the tragic fact that Serbia is the only country in Europe that supports the communist world and which insists on reviving the communist leadership in the Kremlin. The sanctions will remain effective as long as the communists rule in Serbia.

[Ignja] I did not want to interrupt you, as you were speaking very quickly. I think that the opposition leaders are not aware of the role that they have to play. Some of them seem not to have recognized who their political enemy is. The Serbian political scene does not look like that in England, France, or Germany, where a political rise or fall does not change the political life on the whole. We had communist rule for 50 years. The opposition that is not able to disassociate itself from this system will disappear from the political scene, because former communists and present Socialists are obviously doing

everything to preserve the socialist system in Serbia. Serbia is still a socialist country, as the problem of ownership has not been solved yet.

[Draskovic] The only hope for Serbia is a democratic opposition, but the coalition between the Socialist and the Communist Party wants to destroy this hope through the obscure project of national unity. They do not care for the Serbian people; they are not interested in Serbia. The only thing that they are interested in is to preserve their communist leadership.

[Ignja] Is it true that they wanted to preserve Yugoslavia?

[Draskovic] Yugoslavia was broken up by generals and officers, members of the Communist Party. The stories about greater Serbia enabled them to keep their positions at that time. These people are now preaching a revival of Yugoslavia, because they think that the greater Serbia story is worn out. Apart from that, many people are nostalgic about the former Yugoslavia. Destroyers are becoming founders, masters of war are becoming masters of peace. They might even support the restoration of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy if they thought that the Communist Party could profit from it.

[Ignja] The fear of communism—which has, admittedly, lost an eye already—has started circulating around all the Serbian territories.

[Draskovic] The Communist Party rules everywhere from Belgrade to Knin. Milosevic told me: "Give us as many people as possible for the diplomatic service, since it is horrible. More than horrible." He said that but he did not ask for anybody, although I accepted the proposal and was ready to send the cleverest people to represent the cultural and spiritual heritage of our country. Probably the most important diplomatic position—and this is the position of the head of the [FRY] Bureau in Zagreb—was given to a Communist Party member. This is a thorn not only in our side, but also in Zagreb's.

[Ignja] The chairman of the Democratic Party stated once that the opposition did not have a man who could rival Milosevic in the election. He was consequently praised by Milosevic. ("That little Djindjic is not bad.") When you came out of Milosevic's office you looked more than happy, you paid him two compliments (charming and witty), and he returned by stating that your behavior had improved lately. People almost started crying.

[Draskovic] He also gave me a good grade in behavior last autumn, three months before we met. As far as my compliments are concerned, I would pay them again. I think that nobody is as powerful and superior as an innocent victim. I entered and left Milosevic's office with the feeling that my own power is superior to his; that is why I paid compliments to him. Apart from that, he is really a witty and charming head of state who looks you in eye and tells you the joke that he has no influence whatsoever on the television and that he does not even watch television.

[Ignja] The Democratic Party chairman goes even further and claims that anticommunism in Serbia does not pay. What does pay? Should we wait for the vizier's elephant to die a natural death in 100 years?

[Draskovic] Djindjic is perhaps right when he says that political parties cannot profit from an anti-communist attitude in a communist Serbia dominated by communist television, but the poverty in which we live, this prison, is the best proof that Serbia cannot profit from communism.

[Ignja] Will the opposition show enough mercy to the people—to those two-thirds who did not vote for the communists—to change at least some important laws? Although now—after the betrayal by New Democracy—this also seems to be impossible.

[Draskovic] If Djindjic, Seselj, Kostunica, and Agoston do not realize that all of us have to be one side in parliament in order to change the law on television, the election law and the law on election lists, it is senseless to participate in any future election. We are confronted with the problem of the New Democracy party, which has joined the other side and is now preventing us from changing these laws.

There are many democrats in the New Democracy Presidency and its Main Committee, so I hope that these people will soon take over the party and pull it out of its collaboration with the communists.

[Ignja] Why have they not been expelled by the DEPOS Council?

[Draskovic] There is no DEPOS Council. We used to have such a council in the beginning. In the meantime all the political parties that used to be DEPOS members have left the coalition. Only the SPO and New Democracy have remained in DEPOS. They were joined by the Citizens' Alliance in the last election. It is impossible to convoke the DEPOS council now.

[Ignja] This sounds logical. But how will you go into the next elections?

[Draskovic] The SPO will probably participate in the next elections as the SPO. We have used up all our reserves for turncoats.

[Ignja] But this will be a new situation. Is it risky, since people have got used to DEPOS?

[Draskovic] We can count on 800,000 voters, but our aim is to break the 1-million-vote barrier.

[Ignja] The Serbian opposition is only interested in a majority in parliament. Everything else is a minor issue.

[Draskovic] The easiest way to reach this democratic majority is to vote for the SPO. We do not rely either on the Kremlin or on Pale, we rely on Serbia.

[Ignja] Time passes, and you could be considering the presidential elections in three and a half years, since Milosevic cannot be re-elected.

[Draskovic] Yes. According to the Constitution, Milosevic cannot be re-elected. He is already the former president—unless he changes the Constitution, or the people.

[Ignja] You have recently said: "...and nice weather is coming, too." Some people, for example the information minister, linked this to the struggle for political power outside parliament, in the streets. Will there be demonstrations, one of the constitutional rights and a democratic aspect of a state?

[Draskovic] Of course there will be demonstrations. There must be demostrations. The spring does not break up the winter only with the sun, but also with rain and wind.

Kosovo

Serb Army Continues Raids, 'Mistreatment'

AU1504074194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] New movements of Serbian Army and police are reported in Kosova, while raids and the mistreatment and arrest of Albanians still continue. For more, Mehmet Haziri:

[Haziri] The frequent movements of the Serbian Army are giving distressing dimensions to the wave of the Serbian repression in Kosova, which have, in the last months, been displayed in raids, mistreatment, and arrests.

The Information Commission of the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] in Peje reports that in Tabje, a small hill near the city, a group of Serbian solders and policemen have been stationed since yesterday, while the bridge of Zall over Bistrice is kept under continuous control.

Another report from Zhur stresses that recently a Serbian Army convoy that marched in front of this locality, provoked the inhabitants by mistreating several Albanian youths. It is reported that the trucks were carrying large-caliber weapons.

Reports that arrived today at our editorial office in Prishtina and the Kosova Information Center confirmed Serbian police raids in many Kosova localities. On the pretext of searching for arms, dozens of families were raided in Drenoce and Balince of Malisheve, Dobercan in Gjilan, in Bratash in Podujeve, in Rahoshish and Jabllanice in Peje, in Ogosh in Kamenice, and in Suhareke. There are reports that many persons were maltreated and were held under arrest for many hours.

As part of the wave of continuous Serbian repression, we should mention the dismissal of Albanian workers with no pretext at all. The Serbian-installed leadership at the Coca Cola Factory in Lipjan dismissed 49 Albanian workers. Sometime ago, the Serb occupying power fired 30 other workers from this Kosovar factory. Thus, the number of the Albanian workers in this factory in Kosova is now only symbolic.